THE HISTORY, Choice, and Method OF STUDIES.

BY

Monsieur *Fleury*,

Sometime *Preceptor* to the *Princes* of *Conty*, Monsieur *D' Vermandois*, and to the Dukes of *Burgoyne* and *Anjou*.

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THE PREFACE TO THE Reader.

READING not long ſince in the Lipſick Tranſlations, *I therein met with ſo Fair a Character of this* Author, *and this* Piece *of his, that I preſently procured the* Book; *and, having Read it over, I was ſo well pleaſed with the* Argument, *and the Way of handling it, That (having ſome Spare-time upon my hands) I thought it might not be altogether an Uſeleſs Diverſion, to try how that would appear in* Engliſh,

which gave me ſuch Satisfaction in French; *and which the* Editors *of the* Lipſick Tranſactions *wiſh'd to ſee in the* German Tongue.

A Work of this Nature is ſo neceſſary, and yet ſo very difficult, that ſeveral, who (convin't of the uſefulneſs of it) have attempted it; yet being Diſcouraged in the Proſecution, or elſe unfit for the Undertaking, have either left us only ſome Models *Unfiniſh'd, or ſome* Gothick Platforms *more agreeable to the Barbarous Ages of Learning, than to the State of that wherein we Live. Some have been too Subtle and Scholaſtical in their* Inſtructions; *others too groſs and material: The one ſeem to ſuppoſe their* Scholars *to be meer Intelligences; the other Treat them, as if they were altogether Material: and both have too much reſtrain'd their Rules, to ſome particular ſorts of* Studies *and*

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Profeſſions. *As if all Men beſides had either no Thoughts, or were under no Obligation to order them after the beſt manner, and apply them to the moſt proper Subjects.*

Our Author *therefore thought himſelf oblig'd to extend his Inſtructions to all Mankind; and conſider all Reaſonable Creatures (who have Minds to Improve) as* Students *in ſome ſort or other. And indeed, ſince all Men have Thoughts, and* Study *is nothing but the Attentive Application of their Thoughts to thoſe Objects which they are the moſt concern'd to know; 'twould be great Injury to the reſt of Mankind, to exclude all, except two or three Orders of Men, from the benefit of* Studies. *Our* Author, *that he might not be thus partial in a matter, where all Perſons have an Intereſt, ſuits his Inſtructions to all Ages, Sexes, Conditions, and ways of Life.*

To the Reader.

He First *Preſcribes Rules for ſuch* Studies *as are abſolutely Neceſſary to all ſorts of Men whatever. Then he paſſes on to thoſe which are proper for them, whoſe Birth and Parts enable them to make ſome further progreſs in Learning. In the next place he applys himſelf unto thoſe whoſe Condition requires greater Improvements, than may be requiſite for the* Common Student. *Afterwards he gives Directions about* Studies *that are Curious, as he calls them; not becauſe they are, in no Senſe, neceſſary; but becauſe they are not of ſo much uſe, as the others before-mention'd, tho' they be laudable and good in themſelves: Whereas thoſe which he calls uſeleſs, are ſuch vain and unprofitable Curioſities, as are juſt good for nothing at all, but to fill the head with Superſtitious Conceits, and Fanciful Chymera's. Laſtly,*

He

To the Reader.

He tells us how Children are to be Inſtructed according to their ſeveral Ages; What Studies *are fit for* Women; *What for* Clergy-men, Sword-men, *and* Lawyers.

This is a ſhort View of the Deſign of his Second Part; *after he has, in the* Firſt, *given us an* Hiſtorical Account *of* Studies: *which may well paſs for a very Ingenious, and Learned* Eſſay *upon that which my Lord* Bacon *calls, the* Hiſtoria Literata; *and puts amongſt the* Deſiderata, *under the Title of* Oculus Polyphemi.

I would by no means derogate from the Learned and Uſeful Labours either of the Ancients *or* Moderns, *who have Written upon this Subject. Yet I muſt needs ſay, that to my Apprehenſion, none ever Managed it with ſuch a Judicious Choice, and Unaffected Gravity, as he ſeems to have done. His Great Care is*

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not to make a vain ſhew and Parade of his Learning. He Writes not like a Man who is full of himſelf, and poſſeſt with the troubleſom Spirit of Polymathy, *his Buſineſs is to give the moſt uſeful and ſolid Advice in the plaineſt and moſt ſimple Words. He is not too tedious and Operoſe upon ſome Heads; too ſcantly and defective in others: but with an equal and ſteddy hand, has drawn all the parts ſo, as to agree with one another, and ſtrengthen the Whole. In ſhort, if I did not think that I do Preſent the* Réader *with a* BOOK *of more Value, than any thing I have yet ſeen in this kind, I ſhould not have given him a needleſs trouble. Several both of former times, and of late, have laid down many wiſe aud and excellent Rules for the skilful management of Youth; but I know no* Treatiſe, *which, (in ſo ſhort a Com-*

paſs,

paſs, and ſuch a natural Method) comprehends the whole Circle of Inſtruction, as it relates both to the Scholars Studies, and his Manners. So that I hope the Reader *will have Reaſon to Eſteem this little Book above many others which have been Written upon this Subject, either with too little Judgment, or too much Criticiſm.*

'Tis to be obſerved, that the Author takes upon him to Preſcribe not to the Univerſities, *and Publick* Schools. *He undertakes, not to be a Doctor of the* Chair; *or to Medicate unto thoſe Celebrated Places of Education, whoſe Rules and Methods have been Approved and Eſtabliſhed, both by Law and Cuſtom. But, becauſe* Private *and* Domeſtick *Education, has of late been ſo much in Faſhion, and withal, uſually ſo wretchedly managed; He thought himſelf concerned to viſit the Family, take an account of the Miſcarriages in this Matter, and do what in him*

him lay, to Redreſs them. And he did not Intrude himſelf into this Office, before he was called. For, in the *Preface*, *He tells us*, That he Compoſed this Book at the deſire of a certain Gentleman, for the Uſe of his Child. *Now ſince there is the ſame Reaſon for ſuch kind of Treatiſes in* Engliſh, *as in* French, *He hopes, that He ſhall be accounted no more in our own County, than in his own, a buſie Body in other Mens Matters.*

But though the Book is not Calculated for the Univerſities, *and* Publick Schools, *yet if the Tutors of the one, and the Maſters of the other, will Examin his Rules and Method with Judgment and Candour; I preſume they will ſee Reaſon to acknowledge their Obligations to the Author, and will not, I hope, have much Reaſon to be offended with the Tranſlatour. However, we do, with ſome Aſſurance, promiſe our ſelves a*

favour-

favourable Reception from all those Gentlemen, who Educate their Children in Private; as well as from the Instructers, who shall take the care of them. For I question not, but upon Experiment, it will be found, that a Child of tolerable Parts, Educated after this Manner, will in a far less time than ordinary, to the Joy of the Father, and Credit of the Teacher, be better grounded in real Learning, and more capable to use it, than we commonly see Young Scholars are, after they have been several Years at School, *and not a few at the* University.

In Truth, the Scheme *which He Proposes, is Founded upon the certain Principles of Reason and Experience, and not upon the sole Authority of any Great Name, how Famous soever. He freely inquires after the best Rules, and Method of Instructing Youth, not obliging himself to maintain the* Systems *and* Practices *of others,*

others, farther than he finds them agreeable to the Dictates of Eternal Reaſon, our Common Maſter, and confirmed by his own particular Experience. The Princes of Conte, *whoſe Studies he had the Honour to Direct, as their Quality required a more Ingenuous and Liberal way of Education; ſo, I doubt not, but when they came out of their Tutors Hands, they found themſelve furniſhed with a Morality, and a ſort of Learning, anſwerable to their Birth; that is, Wiſe, Generous, and Active; Built upon the ſolid Foundations of Reaſon, and Experience.*

As to the Tranſlation, I have obſerved, as Faithfully as I could, the Author's own Rules, P. 137. *not ſcrupulouſly, rendering one Word for another, but the* French Idiom *into the* Engliſh *way of Speaking; yet, always as near as poſſibly, preſerving his Senſe: Excepting* P. 50. *where, what He calls the* Hereſie, *I only Term the Doctrin*

of

of Luther: *Such Complements as theſe, muſt be expected from one, who profeſſes himſelf to be of the* Roman Catholick *Communion. We have ſome more of them,* P. 177 where he refers to the Vulgar *Latin*, as the verſion, which the Church hath made Authentick; recommends the knowledge of the *Hebrew* Tongue, if for no other Reaſon, yet to ſilence the *Hereticks*, and Adviſes his Prieſt to Read the *Trent Catechiſm*, and Council, and *Romiſh Ritual*. *Theſe and ſuch like Characteriſticks of his Communion, I thought once to have accommodated to the* Engliſh Church; *as likewiſe the Honours he beſtows on the* French *Nation, to our own. But upon ſecond Thoughts, I judged it more ſuitable with a Tranſlation, to let theſe Paſſages go unaltered: Since the Weakeſt are in no danger of being harmed by them; and the Wiſer will only conclude from them, that Cuſtom and Education, in ſome things are apt to prevail*

vail over the Judgments of the most Reasonable Men.

To conclude, since Translations out of the French, have of late, been so much encouraged; and to so good purpose, 'tis hoped this will find some place amongst the Excellent Books we have already received, and do still expect out of that Language. Du Pin, and Malbranch have been worthily looked upon, as Originals, in their respective Labours: And when the Learned shall have Impartially considered Mr. Fleury's Writings, they'll find him to be one of those French Writers, who (abating their peculiar Roman Shibboleth) have Written, as if they design'd to serve the Interest of the Church of England, that is, of Primitive Christianity, rather than that of Rome.

THE

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THE

THE HISTORY Choice, and Method OF STUDIES.

I. *The Design of this Treatise.*

ALthough, at preſent, I only intend to Treat of private Studies, and to give Advice to thoſe alone, who Inſtruct Children in Houſes, and are at liberty to uſe what Method they ſhall think the Beſt: I have nevertheleſs judg'd it neceſſary, Firſt, to Conſider the courſe of Studies, which we find ſettled in the publick Schools; to the end that we may conform our ſelves unto them, as much as poſſible. But to underſtand well the Order of our publick Studies, it ſeems to me Adviſeable to go to the Fountain-head; that ſo we may ſee whence every part is deriv'd down to us; and how the whole

body of these Studies has been form'd in the Succession of many Ages.

First Part
Containing the History of Studies.

II. *The Studies of the* Greeks.

GRammar, Rhetorick, and Philosophy, came from the *Greeks*; even the Names themselves of these Studies import as much. From the *Greeks* they pass'd to the *Romans*, and from the *Romans* to us. Now the *Greeks* had great Reason to apply themselves to these Three Sorts of Studies, as they understood them. By Grammar they (in the first place) meant the Knowledge of Letters; that is, the Art to Read, and Write, and consequently Speak well. It was of great moment to them, to know how to Read, Write, and Speak correctly in their own Language, with which they contented themselves; for they Learnt none of Strangers. Under the Name of Grammar they also comprehended the Knowledge of the Poets, Historians, and other good Authors; whom their Grammarians profess'd to explain: And 'tis easie to see how useful this Study was to them. At the First, they had no other Books but their Poets; and there they found all kind of Instructions. All their Religion, and all their History were contain'd in them. For hitherto they had no more certain Traditions than these Fables, which now seem so Ridiculous unto us. And as for their Religion, their Poets were their Prophets, whom they looked upon as Friends of the Gods, and Men inspir'd; and for their works they had a Respect not much inferiour (if I may make

Arist. Pol. L. 8. c. 3. Plato Leg. Lib. 7. p. 209.

make the Compariſon) to that which we have for the holy Scriptures. Moreover they found in them Rules for the Government of themſelves; and Lively Repreſentations of Humane Life. And they had this Advantage, that theſe Books, ſo full of Inſtructions, were perfectly well written: Inſomuch that they were a divertiſement to the Reader; and beſides the Subſtance of things, they learnt from them to Speak well, and to expreſs their Thoughts nobly. In ſhort, all their verſes were made to be Sung, and their moſt Ancient Study was Muſick, that they might have ſomething wherewithal to divert, and imploy themſelves Innocently, at their leiſure times, by Singing, and playing upon Inſtruments. *Plat. Rep. L. M. Ariſtoph. de nub.*

Rhetorick and Philoſophy came later, and began both of them much about the ſame time, as Men of parts did differently apply themſelves; ſome ingaging in the management of Affairs; and others, retiring from the World, to give themſelves wholly to the ſearch of Truth. That popular way, whereby the *Greek* Common-wealths were govern'd in their publick Aſſemblies, where all matters were carri'd by the Votes of the People, obliged them, who deſign'd to render themſelves powerful, either by Ambition, or Intereſt, carefully to ſeek after the Art of perſwading the People to what they wou'd: To this end, beſides publick Speeches, they apply'd themſelves to the pleading particular Cauſes before the Judges, that they might gain Friends, and exerciſe themſelves in Speaking. Thus Eloquence became a ſurer means of Advancement, than Valour, and Knowledge of War: becauſe, a great Captain, if he did not uſe his Tongue well,

had little power in their deliberations; whereas an Oratour, without being brave, cou'd either form or break the neck of the greateſt enterprizes. So that the Rhetoricians were that active ſort of Men, whom the *Greeks* called Politicians. The Speculative Men, whom they termed Sophiſts, and afterwards Philoſophers, did at firſt apply themſelves to the Knowledge of the Nature of things Cœleſtial, and Terreſtrial; that is to ſay, they were Aſtronomers, and natural Philoſophers. But *Socrates* reſolving to leave off all purſuit after that which is without us, and to apply himſelf wholly to that which might make a Man better in himſelf, was chiefly concern'd for the improving his mind, that he might reaſon as exactly as poſſible, and govern his Life according to the beſt rules this Reaſoning ſhou'd diſcover to him. And thus he added to Philoſophy, two other parts, Logick, and Morality. In his time and in the times of his firſt Diſciples, Philoſophy, as well as Rhetorick, were the ſerious, and continual imployments of Men grown up, and form'd; and not the tranſient Studies of young perſons. The moſt noble, and moſt conſiderable men thought themſelves Honour'd thereby. *Pythagoras* was of the Royal Race. *Plato* was deſcended from King *Codrus* by his Father, and from *Solon* by his Mother. *Xenophon* was one of the greateſt Captains of his Age. And from this time Learning was in ſo great Eſteem, and became ſo much the mark of Men of Quality, that the name *Ideot*, which in *Greek*, only ſignifies a private Perſon, was taken for an Ignorant, and ill Educated Man, as generally the common ſort of People are.

Cic. Acad. queſt. 1, *c.* 4.

Among

Among the Kings of *Ægypt*, *Syria*, and *Macedonia*, (the Succeſſors of *Alexander*) there were many Grammarians, Poets, and Philoſophers. And indeed it is very reaſonable, that in every Country, they ſhould apply themſelves unto the Sciences, who have moſt candor and Civility, who being Born to good Eſtates, needing not to be Sollicitous for the neceſſities of Life, have moſt leiſure, or, who being call'd to great employments, have moſt opportunity of becoming uſeful to others, and moſt need to inlarge their Capacity, and Knowledge.

III. *The Studies of the* Romans.

The *Romans* were inſtructed by the *Greeks*, and did imitate them as much as they cou'd, even to the learning their Language, which hitherto had not been practiſed in the World. Neither the *Hebrews*, nor the *Egyptians*, nor the *Greeks*, did learn any ſtrange Language as an help to their Studies. 'Tis true, that the *Greek* was a living Language, and the Trading Tongue of the *Mediterranean* Sea, and all the *Eaſt*, which made it neceſſary for Travel, Traffick, and all ſorts of Buſineſs. It was alſo eaſie for the *Romans* to learn it, as well by reaſon of the great number of *Greeks*, both Free-men, and Slaves, who were every where diſpers'd through *Italy*; as by the Neighbour-hood of the *Greek* Colonies to the *Roman* Territories. The *Romans* then had this Study, over and beſides what the *Greeks* had; and they firſt joined Grammar thereunto, which they learnt as the *Greeks* had done; that is, with reſpect to the *Greek* Tongue. Afterwards they apply'd themſelves to the Latin, which then was purify'd, fixt, and came to its perfection.

Sueton. de illuſtr. Gramm. ſub initio.

But when the *Romans* began to Study, the Studies of the *Greeks* were very much changed. The Authority of the Poets was much ſunk, becauſe the natural Philoſophers had taught the World not to be deceived with Fables, and (with all Men of Senſe) had diſcredited their falſe Religion, which had no other foundation but uncertain Traditions, and groſs impoſtures. The *Greeks* had begun to write true Hiſtories, from the time of their Wars with the *Perſians*; and they had acquired a great knowledge of Geography from the Conqueſts of *Alexander*. Beſides, the *Socratick* Philoſophers taught a morality much purer than that of the Poets: Yet they did not ceaſe to be very much eſteemed, and to be looked upon, if not as heavenly and God-like, yet, at leaſt, as great men, and the chief Philoſophers. We find in them every where very uſeful ſentiments, and fair images of Nature. They were always pleaſant to Read, to Repeat, and Sing: The Ceremonies of Religion preſerved the uſe of them: Their Antiquity, and the Cuſtom of Commending them, did not a little Contribute to the keeping up of their Credit.

Lucret.

Plato Rep. II. III.

Rhetorick it ſelf, and Philoſophy, which then were the moſt ſolid Studies, had degenerated under the Empire of the *Macedonians*. The *Greek* Cities, even thoſe which had continued free, had now no Affairs of great Conſequence to deliberate upon, as before. The Orators often imploy'd their Eloquence to flatter Princes, or elſe to make themſelves admired. Beſides, having ſeen the great uſefulneſs of this Art, they thought it expedient to have it Taught to the Youth; and for this purpoſe, they inſtituted a ſort of Maſters, whom they

Cic. de Orat. II. c. 5.

they properly call'd Rhetoricians; who having not a Genius ſufficient for true Eloquence, practiſed this Trade, only to get a Livelihood by it. Theſe are they, who have form'd this Art, which is ſtill call'd Rhetorick; or at leaſt, who have incumber'd it with that infinite number of little precepts which we ſee in their Books. Theſe are they, who have introduced Declamations upon Subjects invented at pleaſure, and oft-times very unlikely, exerciſing Youth to ſpeak without Knowledge, only to ſhew their Wit. In ſhort, theſe are they, who have introduc'd the falſe Eloquence of the following Ages; and thoſe general Diſcourſes, ſo full of words, and void of things. This Evil was chiefly ſpread in *Aſia*, where the *Greeks* were leſs free, and further from their Original; and it was at *Athens*, where the true reliſh of Eloquence and the liberal Arts were the longeſt time preſerved. *Cic. de opt. gen. Orat.*

Philoſophy was become a pretence for Idleneſs, and a continual War of unprofitable diſputes. *Ariſtotle* was not ſatisfy'd with what was uſeful in Logick, but carry'd the Speculation on to the moſt minute exactneſs. He alſo apply'd himſelf very much to Metaphyſicks, and the moſt general Reaſonings. So many made Diſcourſes upon Morality, and ſo few govern'd their practice according to its Rules, that they render'd it Ridiculous. For many made the profeſſion of Philoſophy, only to lacquey after their little Intereſts; as to make their Court to Princes, or get Money. And they who ſought after Wiſdom more ſeriouſly gave great offence by the multitude of their Sects; for they treated one another as Fools, and Mad-men. The *Romans* ſeeing the

Greeks in this condition, for a long time deſpiſed Studies, as Childiſh Vanities, and Idle Amuſements, not worthy of their pains, who altogether apply'd themſelves unto Buſineſs: Each particular Man endeavoured to increaſe his patrimony, by Husbandry, Traffick, and Frugality; and all of 'em together jointly concurr'd in making the State to flouriſh, by applying themſelves to War, and Politicks. *Cato.*

But though they wou'd have it believed, that this frugality, this military Diſcipline, this firmneſs in their Conduct, which made them ſo powerful, were owing to none but themſelves, and their own vertuous Reſolutions; yet their own Hiſtory makes it appear, that they had borrow'd much from the *Greeks*, even at that time, before there were in *Greece*, either Oratours, or Philoſophers by profeſſion. The firſt *Tarquin* was a *Corinthian* by Birth, and he had inſtructed *Servius Tullius*. *Pythagoras* lived in the time of the latter; and it is very probable that ſome of his Diſciples had correſpondence with the *Romans*, their ſevere and frugal way of living ſo much reſembling this *Italick* Philoſophy. However, it is certain that they brought the Laws of the Twelve Tables out of *Greece*; which *Cicero* valued more than all the Books of the Philoſophers. Applying themſelves with great diligence to theſe Laws, and their Domeſtick Affairs, they form'd a Study which was particular to themſelves, and laſted as long as their Empire. This Study is Civil Law, which we do not find that any Nation had cultivated before. Not but that the *Greeks* had diligently Studied the Laws, but they did it rather as Oratours, than Lawyers. I am not

Ignorant

Ignorant that they very well knew the order and diſpoſition of them; that they dived alſo into the Reaſons of them; and, with good effect, apply'd themſelves unto buſineſs, both publick and private. But I do not find that they had any, who made it their profeſſion, to explain them unto others, and to give Counſel; nor that they wrote Commentaries upon their Laws. For as for the *Formularies*, it is certain that the *Greek* Oratours left the care of them, to an inferiour ſort of Men, whom they called Pragmaticks, or Practitioners. 'Tis true, there were in *Greece* Legiſlatours and Philoſophers who had ſtudied the Laws after a more noble and extenſive manner, ſince it muſt needs argue a greater Genius to Compile a whole body of Laws, than to apply them in particular to the leaſt Affairs: And they confeſs'd that this Knowledge, ſo uſeful to the World, came to them from *Ægypt*, and the *Eaſt*, as did all the reſt of their Learning.

Æſchin. in Cteſeph.

Cic. pro Mur.

To return to *Rome*: To the end of the Sixteenth Age, after its foundation, Children were then Taught only to Read, and Write, and caſt Account. Men Studied the Laws, and the Formularies; either indifferently, for their own particular uſe; or more Curiouſly, to give Counſel unto others, and gain Credit, and Reputation. They did not begin to enter upon the Curioſities of the *Greeks* ordinarily, to Learn their Tongue, and to Read their Works, till after the Second *Punick* War. Hitherto there were to be ſeen ſome Ordinances of the Senate againſt Rhetoricians, and Philoſophers by profeſſion; as Men, who introduced dangerous Novelties into the Commonwealth. The

Horat. ep. L. 1. 2.

Gellius. xv. c. 11.

Suet. de illuſtr. gram. & clar. Rhetor. initio.

The *Romans*, when they apply'd themſelves to the Studies of the *Greeks*, did it, according to their own Genius; that is, they ſought therein what was beſt, moſt ſolid, and moſt uſeful for the Conduct of Life. The old *Cato*, *Scipio*, and *Lælius*, were not Men, who wou'd burden themſelves with Trifles. They Studied the Hiſtorians, and Oratours, to profit by their Excellent Examples, and good Maxims of the ancient *Greeks*; and to Learn how to Speak as perſwaſively upon the Affairs of *Rome*, as *Pericles* and *Demoſthenes* had done, upon thoſe of *Athens*; at the ſame time ſtudiouſly avoiding to imitate the *Greeks* of their times, or to take up with the Trifles of the Grammarians, and Rhetoricians. Nay, they were even afraid of this. *Cicero* ſays of the greateſt Oratours of his time, they were fearful it ſhou'd be perceived, that they had Studied the Books of the *Greeks*, leaſt it ſhou'd be thought, that they overmuch valued them, and ſo their Reputation of being Learned, might make their Diſcourſes to be ſuſpected of too much artifice.

Cic. de Orator. L. 2. initio.

The Wiſe *Romans* came afterwards to Philoſophy, and there fix'd upon the principles and Reaſons of Morality, and Politicks; of which they already had much Experience, and many Domeſtick Examples. Laſtly, they knew how to take what was beſt in the Poets. Hence proceeded ſo many great Oratours in the laſt Age of the Republick, from the *Gracchi*, to *Cicero*; and they alſo, who may be called the *Roman* Philoſophers, as *Atticus*, *Cato* of *Utica*, and *Brutus*.

Vid. Dial. de corrupt. elo.

But the Eſtabliſhment of the Monarchy at *Rome*, having rendred great Eloquence, and the Motives to it uſeleſs; (ſince the People did no longer

longer give their Votes in Publick Affairs, nor beſtow great Places) Poetry got the upper hand, and flouriſhed under the Reign of *Auguſtus*. 'Tis true, it fell ſoon afterwards, having nothing that was ſolid to ſuſtain it, and being look'd upon only as a ſport, and diverſion of the mind. Thus, within the ſpace of about Two Hundred Years, the Studies of the *Romans*, came to be in the ſame condition, wherein they had found thoſe of the *Greeks*. Every place was full of little Grammarians, Rhetoricians, and idle Declamers; of prating Philoſophers, Hiſtorians, and Poets, who tired the World in reciting their Works. Only the Civil Law was always preſerv'd, becauſe it was always neceſſary, and depended leſs upon the form of Government, or the particular manners of Men. There were alſo ſome true Philoſophers, though we ſhould reckon only the Emperour *Marcus Aurelius*, and ſeveral others, of whom, mention is made in *Pliny*'s Epiſtles. But theſe Philoſophers went rather for *Greeks*, than *Romans*: The greateſt part of 'em alſo wore the *Greek* Habit, in what Country ſoever they dwelt, and of what Nation ſoever they were. *Juven. Sat.* 1.

IV. *The Studies of the* Chriſtians.

In the mean time, a much more Sublime Philoſophy began to be Eſtabliſhed; I mean, the Chriſtian Religion, which ſoon made this purely Humane Philoſophy to vaniſh; and did yet more ſeverely Condemn all thoſe other Studies, which were leſs ſerious. The Principal Study of Chriſtians, was the meditation of the Law of God, and all the Holy Scriptures, according to the Tradition of the Paſtours, who had faithfully preſerv'd the Doctrine of the Apoſtles. They call'd all the reſt, Strange, and Foreign Studies;

Studies; and rejected them, as inticing the Reader to the manners of the Heathens. In Truth, the greateſt part of their Books were either uſeleſs, or dangerous. The Poets were the Devil's Prophets, who breathed nothing but Idolatry, and Debauchery; and made agreeable Repreſentations of all ſorts of Paſſions, and Villainies. Many Philoſophers deſpiſed all Religion in general, and denied that there cou'd be any Miracles, or Prophecies. Others made great endeavours to Eſtabliſh Idolatry, by Allegorizing natural things, and by the Secrets of Magick. Moreover their Morality was ſtuft with errours, and all turn'd upon this principle of Pride, That it was in Man's power to make himſelf good and vertuous. The Oratours were full of Artifice, Lyes, Reproaches, or Flatteries; and the moſt ſolid Subjects of their Diſcourſes, were matters of Buſineſs; from which the Chriſtians ſtudiouſly deſired to Sequeſter themſelves. They believed, that they ſhou'd have loſt the time given them to gain Eternity, if they had imploy'd it in the Reading Foreign Hiſtories, in Mathematical ſpeculations, and other Curioſities: And they always ſaw in them, great danger of Vanity, a thing inſeparable from the moſt innocent Studies. So that the greateſt part of Chriſtians apply'd themſelves to the Labour of the Hands, and to works of Charity towards their Brethren. Their Schools were the Churches, where the Biſhops daily explain'd the holy Scriptures. There were alſo Prieſts, and Deacons, whoſe particular Buſineſs it was to Inſtruct the Catechumens, and manage the Diſputes againſt the Heathens. And every Biſhop took particular Care to Inſtruct his Clergy,

Tert. de Idol. c. 10. &c.

Auguſt. ep. 132. ad Memor.

Ep. 56. ad Dioſc.

Clergy, chiefly the Younger ſort, who attended continually about his Perſon, to ſerve him as Readers, and Secretaries; to follow him, and carry about his Letters, and Orders. And thus they Learnt the Doctrine, and Diſcipline of the Church, rather by Domeſtick Inſtruction, and long uſe, than by formal, and ſet Lectures. Nevetheleſs, it cannot be deny'd, but that there were many Chriſtians, who were very Learned in the Heathen Books, and the prophane Sciences. But if we do well examine the matter, we ſhall find, that the greater number of thoſe perſons had Studied them before they became Chriſtians. And being well vers'd therein, they knew how to employ them to the purpoſes of Religion. All the good they found in them, they vended again as their own, becauſe all Truth comes from God. They made uſe of the ſolid Maxims of Morality, which they found diſpers'd in the Poets, and the Philoſophers; and alſo of the remarkable Examples of Hiſtory, to prepare the way to Chriſtian Morality. On the contrary, they took advantage from the Abſurdity of the Fables, and Impiety of Heathen Theology, to Encounter Paganiſm with its own Weapons; and thus employed their Knowledge of Hiſtory in Diſputes againſt the Heathens. It was with this Intention, that *Africanus* Compoſed that famous Chronology from which *Euſebius* has taken his. It was with this deſign, that the ſame *Euſebius* wrote his *Evangelical Preparation*; and St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, his Advice to the *Gentiles*, and his *Stromata*.

Afterwards the *Arians*, and other Hereticks, (who made uſe of Philoſophy, to deſtroy the Faith)

Faith) did alſo oblige the Holy Fathers to imploy Humane Learning to overthrow their Sophiſms. Thus they made uſe of Prophane Books with great Diſcretion; yet with an holy Liberty. And therefore, when *Julian* the *Apoſtate* forbad Chriſtians to Teach and Study the Books of the *Greeks*, that is, the *Heathens*, they lookt upon this as a new ſort of Perſecution. Whence it is plain, that at that time they profeſs'd to Teach Humane Learning; which yet was not permitted in the firſt Ages; if we may believe *Tertullian.* But the Reaſons which he alledges are ceas'd ſince the Converſion of the Emperours, and the full liberty of Chriſtianity. This happy Change made the Philoſophers to be Neglected. St. *Auguſtine* Witneſſeth, that in his time they cou'd no more be heard to Diſcourſe in the *Gymnaſia*, which were their proper Schools; though, in thoſe of the Rhetoricians, ſome of their Opinions were ſtill recited, but not taught; neither their Books explain'd, of which even the Copies were very rarely to be met with: That no perſon dared to diſpute againſt the Truth, under the Name of *Stoick*, or *Epicurean*; but that to be heard, he was forc'd to Mask himſelf under the Name of Chriſtian, and to be enter'd into ſome Sect of the Hereticks. St. *Auguſtine* did not Write this becauſe he was not well vers'd in the Writings of the Philoſophers; for in his Youth he had acquainted himſelf with them all: Inſomuch, that it may be ſaid of him, that he was a perfect Philoſopher; ſince there never was any Man of a more penetrating Spirit, profound Meditation, and a more conſiſtent Reaſon. The greateſt part alſo of the *Greek* Fathers, were famous Philoſophers.

Tertul. de Idol. c. 10.

Ep. ad Dioſc.

But

But 'tis very Remarkable, that amongſt all the Philoſophers, Renowned in Antiquity, *Ariſtotle* was he of whom they made leaſt uſe. They found that he did not ſpeak worthily of the Divine Providence, nor of the Nature of the Soul; that his Logick was too ſubtle, and his Morality too Low and humane; for this is the Judgment, which St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, gives of him. And although *Plato* alſo has his faults, yet the Fathers thought they cou'd make better uſe of him; becauſe in his Writings they found more footſteps of Truth, and more effectual means of perſwaſion. In ſhort, 'tis evident, that if they undervalued *Ariſtotle*, it was not becauſe they cou'd not underſtand him, which certainly they did, better than they who have ſince advanc'd him ſo high. *Greg. Orat.* 33.

Prophane Philoſophy was decry'd, becauſe true Philoſophers, that is good Chriſtians, (and eſpecially the Monks) were every where to be ſeen. That Contempt of Honours, the Opinion of Men, Riches, and pleaſures; That Patience in Poverty, and hardſhips, which *Socrates*, and *Zeno* had ſo much ſought after, and of which they had diſcours'd ſo much, the Solitaries of theſe days practiſed, after a much more excellent manner, without diſputing, and without arguing. They liv'd in perfect Tranquility, vanquiſhers of their Paſſions, and continually united unto God. They were troubleſome to no Man; and without writing, without ſpeaking, without ſhewing themſelves, except very rarely, they inſtructed the whole World by their Example, and delighted it with the fragrancy of their vertues. There is therefore no reaſon to wonder, why they were had

had in ſuch great veneration; or to judge of theſe Ancient Monks, by thoſe that appeared before the late Reformations, whoſe looſeneſs had cauſed this name, ſo much honour'd by the Ancients, to be deſpiſed.

It muſt be remembred, that theſe were the true Diſciples of St. *Anthony*, St. *Baſil*, St. *Martin*, and other Saints, whoſe Rules they practiſed, and whoſe vertues they imitated. For the Monaſteries were then the true Schools, where was Taught not only Humane Learning and the Curious Sciences, but the Chriſtian Morality and perfection; which was taught not ſo much by Reading, as by Prayer and real practice; by the living Examples of the Brethren and the Corrections of Superiours.

This perfection of Monaſteries drew to them the moſt wiſe and intelligent Men; and 'twas often here only that ſuch perſons could be found, as were fit for the Service and Government of the Churches: And they who were thus drawn out of the Monaſteries, did uſually continue the exerciſes of the Monaſtick Life, in the ſtate of the Prieſthood, and taught them to their Diſciples; from whence came the near Relation betwixt the Monaſtick Life and the Clerical; which was ſo ordinary after the Fifth Age. Many Biſhops lived in common with their Prieſts; which made it more eaſie for them to inſtruct them in Eccleſiaſtical knowledge; and as for the younger Clerks, they who were not near the perſon of the Biſhops lived with ſome holy Prieſt, who particularly took Care of their Education. There were ſtill ſome prophane Schools, where was taught Grammar ſo far as 'twas neceſſary

Thomaſs. diſc. 2. p. l. 1. c. 30, 34, 35, &c.

ceſſary to write and ſpeak correctly, Rhetorick, which daily became more affected and childiſh; Hiſtory, which they began altogether to reduce into Abridgments; Civil Law, which always continued, becauſe it depended no more upon Religion than the other; and the Mathematicks, which are the Foundations of many Arts neceſſary unto Life.

Learning ſuffer'd very much by the Ruine of the *Weſtern* Empire, and the Eſtabliſhment of the *Northern* People; ſo that there was ſcarce any thing of it left but amongſt the Clergy and the Monks. In Truth, excepting the Clergy there were ſcarce any remainders of the *Romans*, except Peaſants and Artificers, who were generally Slaves.

The Franks and other Barbarians, did not Study at all, and if they made any uſe of Letters for the uſual correſpondencies of Life, it was only of Latin: for they knew not ſo much as how to Write in their own Language. Profane Studies, as Philology and Hiſtory were moſt of all neglected: It did not become Clergy-men to buſie themſelves with them. It is well known how ſharply St. *Gregory* Reproved *Didier* Biſhop of *Vienna*, becauſe he Taught Grammar. Beſides having fewer Books, and leſs Convenience of Studying, than in the foregoing Ages, they betook themſelves to that which was more neceſſary, that is to what immeadiately concern'd Religion.

Mœurs des Chriſtiens n. 46.

V. *The Studies of the* Franks.

Charlemaign who was truly great in all his Actions, did all that was in his power towards the Re-eſtabliſhment of Learning. He drew together from all quarters the moſt know-

ing Men, by Honour and Rewards. He himſelf Studied too. He ſetled Schools in the Chief Cities of his Empire, and even in his own Palace; which was like a walking City. It appears by many Articles of the Capitularies what was Taught therein. For it is recommended to the Biſhops, (who by the Duty of their place are concern'd to provide for the Inſtruction of Youth,) that they ſhou'd take Care that Children were Taught Grammar, Singing, Caſting Account, or Arithmetick. (It may be ſeen in *Bede's* Works who Lived Sixty Years before) wherein their Studies and all the liberal Arts did conſiſt.

Grammar was then neceſſary, becauſe Latin was altogether Corrupted, and the *Roman* Language Ruſtick; as the Vulgar Language whence the *French* is Derived was termed. This Language, I ſay, was nothing but an uncertain and monſtrous Jargon, which Men were aſhamed to write or uſe in any ſerious Buſineſs. As for the *German* Language which was that of the Prince and of all the *Franks*, it began to be Written and to be uſed in ſome Tranſlations of the holy Scriptures; and *Charlemaign* himſelf made a Grammar for it: The Singing which was taught, was that of the Eccleſiaſtical Office, reformed at this time according to the *Roman* Cuſtom; and thereunto were joined ſome Rules of Muſick. Calculation or Computation ſerved for the finding out on what day *Eaſter* was to be kept, and for the Regulating the Year; It comprehended alſo the moſt neceſſary Rules of Arithmetick, by all which it appears, that theſe Studies were only for thoſe who deſign'd for the Clergy: Thus all Lay perſons were either the Noblemen

who

who concern'd themſelves in nothing but War, or the Commonalty buſied in Husbandry and Trades. *Charlemaign* was careful to diſperſe all over his Territories that Code of the Canons which he received from *Pope Adrian*, the *Roman* Law, and other Laws of all the People under his Obedience, whereof he made new Editions. He had a great many ancient Hiſtories; and he was ſo curious, as to cauſe the Verſes which preſerved the Memory of the brave Actions of the *Germans* to be Written, and put together. Thus, together with the Holy Scriptures, and Fathers of the Church, then very well known, he furniſhed his Subjects with all things neceſſary for their inſtruction. And if Men had gone on to have Studied according to this Platform, and Laymen had been more ingaged in the purſuits of Learning, the *French* might eaſily have attain'd and perfected that Knowledge which is moſt uſeful for Religion, for Policy, and for the particular Conduct of Life; which things ought, in my Opinion, to be the end of Studies.

But curioſity which has always been injurious to Learning, inſinuated it ſelf into Study from this time: Many Studied *Aſtronomy*, many believed *Aſtrological Predictions*. There were ſome, who, in order to Write good *Latin*, did ſcrupulouſly Criticize upon the Words and Phraſes of ancient Authors. The greateſt miſchief was, that the *Monks* enter'd upon theſe Curioſities, and began to value themſelves upon their Knowledge, to the prejudice of their Hand-labour, and ſilence, which hitherto had been ſo advantageous to them. The Court of *Lewis* the *Debonnair* was full of them, and no buſineſs paſs'd in

his Court, wherein they had not a ſhare. Afterwards the State falling into the greateſt Confuſion by the ſudden fall of the Houſe of *Charlemaign*; Studies alſo fell with it, all at once. In the time of *Charles* the *Bald*, Publick Acts are to be ſeen even of the *Capitularies*, Written in a ſort of *Latin*, altogether Barbarous, without Rule, and without Conſtruction; and Books were ſo ſcarce, that *Lupus* Abbot of *Ferrier*, ſent as far as *Rome* to receive from the *Pope*, the Works of *Cicero* to Copy over, which at preſent are ſo very common; inſomuch, that when the little particular Wars and Ravages of the *Normans*, had taken away the Liberty of Travel, and broken off Commerce, Studies became very difficult; I mean, to the *Monks* themſelves, and the Clergy; as for others, they never Dream'd of them, beſides, they had more preſſing buſineſs to diſpatch: They were often forc'd to remove in diſorder, and carry the Reliques with them, to ſave them from the Fury of the *Barbarians*, abandoning their Houſes and Churches to them, or elſe the *Monks* and *Clergy* were neceſſitated to take up Arms in defence of their Lives, and to hinder the Prophanation of the Holy Places. In ſuch great Extremities, it was as eaſie for them to loſe their Books, as 'twas difficult to Study them, and Write new Copies of them. Nevertheleſs, there were ſome preſerved, there being always ſome *Biſhop* or *Monk* remarkable for his Learning. But wanting Books and Maſters, they Studied without choice, and without any other direction, than the example of their Predeceſſors. Thus it is Recorded of St. *Abbo*, the Abbot of the *Benedictins* upon the *Loire*, in the time of *Hugh Capet*, that

Mœurs Chriſtiens. n. 48.

that he had Studied *Logick*, *Arithmetick* and *Aſtronomy*; and that afterwards he betook himſelf to the Study of the Holy Scripture, and the Canons, and to Collect paſſages out of the Fathers.

From this time, as the Royal Authority became Re-eſtabliſhed, and Hoſtilities began to ceaſe, Studies alſo revived; ſo that, in the time of *Philip* I. about the Year 1060. Men famous for their Learning, were to be ſeen in ſeveral Churches of *France*. There were likewiſe ſome Schools in the *Cathedrals*, as there were in the *Monaſteries*; where there were Schools within for the *Monks*, and without for the *Seculars*. They Studied as before, Divinity, the Fathers of the Church, the *Canons*, *Logick*, the *Mathematicks*. Thus they continued during the following Age, always advancing and perfecting themſelves, as we ſee by the Writings of *Ivo* of *Chartres*, the Maſter of the Sentences, *Gratian*, St. *Bernard*, and other Authors of the ſame time, whoſe Stile and Method is ſo different from later Schoolmen.

In the mean time, the firſt of theſe Schoolmen followed them ſo near, that the Change muſt needs have happened in the time of theſe great Men; that is to ſay, about the end of the Twelfth Age: And I can find out no other Cauſes of it, but the Knowledge of the *Arabians*, and the imitation of their Studies. The *Jews* were they, who imitated them firſt: They Tranſlated their Books into *Hebrew*, and there being then *Jews* in *France*, and all over *Chriſtendom*, the Books which they had Tranſlated into *Hebrew*, were render'd in Latin. Some of them might be received even from the *Arabians* themſelves, with whom the Communication was eaſie, by

the Neighbourhood of *Spain*, (of which, they as yet held more than half) and by the Travels of thoſe, who went upon the *Croiſado*.

VI. *The Studies of the* Arabians.

THe Vulgar Opinion, that all *Mahometans*, without diſtinction, did always profeſs Ignorance, is a great miſtake. They had an incredible number of Men, Famous for their Learning, particularly many of the *Arabians* and *Perſians*; and they have written enough to fill large Libraries. Four Hundred Years before the Twelfth Age (of which I ſpeak) they had diligently given themſelves to Study, and Learning was never at ſo great an height with them, as when it was at the loweſt with us; that is, in the tenth and eleventh Ages. Theſe *Arabians*, I mean, all thoſe who call themſelves *Muſulmen*, of what Nation, or Country ſoever, had two kinds of Study, the one proper to themſelves, the other taken from the *Greeks*, who were Subject to the Emperours of *Conſtantinople*.

Their particular Studies, were in the firſt place, their Religion, that is, the *Alcorán*; the Traditions which they attributed to *Mahomet*, and his firſt Diſciples; the Lives of their pretended Saints, and the Stories which they relate of them; the Caſes of Conſcience upon the practical part of their Religion, as Prayer, Purifications, Faſting, Pilgrimage; and their Scholaſtical Theology, which contains ſo many Queſtions about the attributes of God upon predeſtination, the Judgment, the Succeſſion of Propheſie, whence proceed ſo many Sects amongſt them, who treat one another as *Hereticks*.

Others Studied the *Alcoran* and its Commentaries rather as *Lawyers* than *Divines*, to find there-

in

in Rules for the management of Affairs, and the Deciſion of differences: For this Book is their only Law, even in Temporals. Others apply'd themſelves unto *Hiſtory*, which had been very carefully Written from the beginning of their Religion, and their Empire, and has been continued down ever ſince. But they were very ignorant of ancient Hiſtories, deſpiſing all Mankind who lived before *Mahomet*, and calling all that time the time of Ignorance, becauſe their Religion was not known. They contented themſelves with the *Arabian Antiquities*, contained in the Works of their ancient *Poets*, which to them ſerved inſtead of the Hiſtory for thoſe times; wherein (it can't be denied) they have followed the ſame Principle which the Old *Greeks* did, of improving their own Traditions, how Fabulous ſoever. But it muſt be acknowledged alſo that their Poetry never had any Beauty, but what was very Superficial, as flaſhy Thoughts, and bold Expreſſions. They never apply'd themſelves to that ſort of Poetry which conſiſts in imitation, and is moſt proper to move the Paſſions; and that, perhaps, which made them avoid it, was the deſpicable Opinion they had of thoſe Arts, which any wiſe related thereunto; as *Painting* and *Sculpture*, which their hatred of *Idolatry* made them abhor. Moreover, their *Poets* were uſeful for the Study of the *Arabick* Tongue, which then was the Language of the Maſters, and moſt of the People of all this great Empire; and ſtill at this Day, is the common Language of the greateſt part, and every where the Language of the *Religion*. They Studied it chiefly in the *Alcoran*, and

to learn it by Converſation with the Living: The moſt Curious went from all Parts to the Province of *Irac*, and particularly to the City *Baſſora*, which was to them what *Athens* was to the ancient *Greeks*: And there being then powerful Princes in *Perſia*, many things were Written in their Language, which have been much improved ſince. Theſe are the Studies proper to the *Muſulmen*, and were as ancient as their Religion.

Thoſe which they had received from the *Greeks*, were later by Two Hundred Years; for it was about the Year 820. when the *Calif Almamon* deſired of the Emperour of *Conſtantinople* the beſt Greek Books, and cauſed them to be Tranſlated into *Arabick*. Nevertheleſs, it doth not appear that they ever Studied the *Greek* Tongue; it was ſufficient to make them deſpiſe it, becauſe it was the Language of their Enemies: Beſides, there were ſo many Chriſtians in *Syria* and *Egypt*, who underſtood both *Arabick* and *Greek*, that they could not want Interpreters; and theſe Chriſtians Tranſlated the *Greek* Books into *Syriack* and *Arabick* for themſelves, and for the *Muſulmen*.

Amongſt the *Greek* Books, there were a great many which were of no uſe to the *Arabians*; they could not ſee the Beauty of the Poets in a ſtrange Language, and with a genius ſo quite different from them: Add this further, that their Religion would not permit them to Read them; they had ſuch an horrour of Idolatry, that they did not think it lawful to pronounce ſo much as the names of the *falſe Deities*: And amongſt ſo many Millions of Volumes which they have

have Written, you ſhall ſcarce find one which mentions them. They were very far from Studying all thoſe Fables, about which our modern *Poets* have been ſo Curious, and the ſame Superſtition might reſtrain them from reading Hiſtories; beſides, that they deſpiſed, as I have already ſaid, all that was older than *Mahomet*. As for *Eloquence* and *Policy* which were brought forth, and nouriſh'd in the moſt free Commonwealths; the Form of the *Muſulmen's* Government gave them no occaſion to make uſe of them. They lived under an Empire abſolutely deſpotick, where they were not to open their Mouths but to Flatter their Prince, and Extol every Thought of his, and where they were not concern'd, for that which might conduce to the advantage of the State, or to the Art of perſwading, but how to obey the Will of their Maſter.

So that there were no Books of the Ancients which were uſeful to them, but thoſe of *Mathematicks*, of *Phyſicians* and *Philoſophers*. But ſeeing they neither ſought after *Policy* nor *Eloquence*, *Plato* was not for them; beſides, to underſtand him, the Knowledge of the *Poets*, the Religion and Hiſtory of the *Grecks* was neceſſary. *Ariſtotle* with his *Logick* and *Metaphyſicks* was more proper for them, and accordingly they Study'd him with incredible earneſtneſs and diligence. They alſo apply'd themſelves to his Phyſicks, chiefly to Eight Books, which contain nothing but Generals: For natural Philoſophy, in particular, which requires Obſervations and Experiments, was not ſo ſuitable to them. They did not omit to Study *Medicks* very cloſely; but they

they founded it chiefly upon the general notions of the four *Qualities*, and the four *Humours*, and upon the Tradition of *Medicines*, which they had not at all examin'd, and which they mixed with an infinite number of Superſtitions. As to other parts of it, they did not in the leaſt improve Anatomy which they had received from the *Greeks* very imperfect: 'Tis true, that we owe *Chymiſtry* to them, which they have carry'd very far, if not invented, but they have mingled therewith all thoſe corruptions which we can yet hardly ſeparate therefrom; vain Promiſes, extravagant Reaſonings, ſuperſtitious Operations, and all thoſe fond things which have produced nothing but Montebanks and Impoſtors. From *Chymiſtry* they paſſed eaſily to *Magick*, and and all ſorts of *Divinations* with which Men eaſily take up, when they are ignorant of natural Philoſophy, Hiſtory, and true Religion, as we have ſeen by the example of the ancient *Greeks*. That which wonderfully aſſiſted them in theſe Illuſions, was *Aſtrology*, which was the chief aim of their *Mathematical* Studies. In truth, this pretended Science has been ſo much cultivated under the Empire of the *Muſulmen*, that Princes took delight therein; and upon this Foundation, ordered their greateſt Enterprizes. The *Calif Almamon* did himſelf Calculate Aſtronomical Tables, which were very famous; and it muſt be confeſs'd that they were very ſerviceable for his Obſervations, and other uſeful parts of *Mathematicks*, as *Geometry* and *Arithmetick*. We owe to them *Algebra*, and the way of *Cyphering* by *Multiplying* by *Ten*, which has render'd the *Arithmetical Operations* ſo eaſie. As for *Aſtronomy*, they had

had the ſame advantages, which excited the ancient *Egygtians* and *Chaldeans* to apply themſelves thereto, ſeeing they Inhabited the ſame Country: And moreover, they had all the obſervations of the Ancients, and all thoſe which the *Greeks* had added unto them.

The *Arabians*, who made it their buſineſs to Study their Religion, were not only no Philoſophers, but their declared Enemies, and decry'd them as an impious ſort of Men, and Enemies to their Religion. Indeed it was no difficult matter for any, who could but reaſon in any degree, to deſtroy the foundation of a Religion which was built, neither upon Reaſon nor any Evidence of a Divine Miſſion. The Philoſophers therefore being excluded from the Functions of Religion, and other profitable Imployments, fought the more after Reputation; and they endeavour'd to get it, either from the Names of the Maſters, under whom they had Studied, or from their great Travels, or from the ſingularity of their Opinions. A Learned Man in *Spain*, was always much more Learned in *Perſia*, or *Coraſan*; and there was a wondrous Emulation betwixt them, each of them Zealouſly affecting to diſtinguiſh himſelf by ſome new *Logical* or *Metaphyſical* ſubtilty. And this ſame Humour run through all their Studies, and all their Works. They apply'd themſelves only to that which ſeemed moſt wonderful, moſt rare, and moſt difficult; for this end, diſregarding Pleaſure, Convenience, and even profit its ſelf.

The *Franks*, and other Latin Chriſtians, received from the *Arabians*, only what the *Arabians* had taken from the *Greeks*, that is, the *Philo-*

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ſophy of *Ariſtotle*, *Medicks* and *Mathematicks*, diſregarding their *Language*, their *Poetry*, their *Hiſtories*, and their *Religion*, as the *Arabians* had neglected thoſe of the *Greeks*. But what is moſt ſurpriſing, is, That our Learned Men did little leſs than the *Arabians*, neglect the *Greek* Tongue, ſo uſeful for the Study of Religion. For it was not before the beginning of the Fourteenth Age, that it was, that the Languages might very much contribute to this end, chiefly in order to the Converſion of *Infidels* and *Schiſmaticks*. It was with this deſign, that the Council of *Vienna* held in the Year 1315. ordered that Profeſſours, for the *Greek*, *Arabick* and *Hebrew* ſhould be Eſtabliſhed, which yet was not put into Execution till a long time afterwards. Men did not begin to Study *Greek* before the end of the Fifteenth Age; *Hebrew* in the beginning of the Sixteenth; and *Arabick* in our Age. Hitherto there were but ſome few curious Perſons, who apply'd themſelves thereto, and they ſeldom beſtow'd their pains upon Books of Hiſtory which would have been moſt uſeful.

VII. *The Studies of the Schoolmen, or thoſe which were Scholaſtick.*

TO return to the Twelfth Age. They who Studied then, were not at all concerned to be curious in Languages, not ſo much as in *Latin*, which they uſed for their Studies, and in all Affairs of Moment? But I cannot accuſe them for this, but the unhappineſs of the Times. The Incurſions of the *Normans*, and the particular Wars which yet continued, had made Books ſo ſcarce, and Studies ſo difficult, that they were forc'd firſt to Labour in that which was of moſt importance. There was, as yet, no Printing, and there were ſcarce any but *Monks* who could

could Write; and they were fully imploy'd in Writing *Bibles*, *Pſalters*, and ſuch-like Books for the uſe of Churches. They Write alſo ſome Works of the Fathers, as they fell into their Hands, ſome Collections of Canons, and ſome Formularies of Acts, which were moſt ordinary in tranſacting buſineſs: For 'twas to them Application was made to cauſe them to be Written, and 'twas from amongſt them or the Clergy that Princes had their Notaries and their Chancellours; they had ſcarce any time to Tranſcribe the Prophane Hiſtories, and the Poets. 'Tis true, that the Knowledge of Languages and Hiſtories, is neceſſary to underſtand the Fathers well, and even Scripture it ſelf; but either they did not apprehend it to be ſo, or elſe the extraordinary difficulty of attaining this Knowledge through the want of *Dictionaries*, *Gloſſaries*, *Commentaries*; and the ſcarceneſs of the Text it ſelf, made them loſe all hopes of it.

Hence it was, that they who would ſuperadd any thing to the meer reading of the Scripture, and the Fathers, did it only by Reaſoning and Logick; as St. *John* the *Sophiſt*, the firſt Author of the *Nominals*, who lived in the time of *Hen.* I. and his followers, *Arnold* of *Laon*, *Roſcelin* of *Compeign*, Maſter *Abalard*. This way of Philoſophizing upon Words and Thoughts, without examining things in themſelves, was moſt certainly a good expedient to eaſe themſelves of the Knowledge of Matter of Fact, which is not to be attained but by reading; and it was an eaſie way to confound the ignorant Laymen, by a ſingular way of ſpeaking, and by vain ſubtilties. But theſe ſubtilties were dangerous,

as

as it appeared by *Berengarius*, *Abalard*, and *Gilbert* of *Poirée*. This is the Reaſon why the wiſeſt Perſons, as St. *Anſelm*, *Peter* of *Blois*, and St. *Bernard*, firmly reſolved to follow the Example of the Fathers, rejecting theſe new Curioſities: And the Maſter of the Sentences, giving himſelf more liberty, made ſome falſe ſteps.

In the mean time the Books of *Ariſtotle* came to be known, as I have ſaid, and whether for the Diſputes againſt the *Jews* and *Arabians*, or for ſome other Reaſon, I know not; the Divines thought they had need of them, and therefore did accommodate them to our Religion; whoſe Doctrines and Morality they Explain'd according to the Principles of this *Philoſopher*. This was done by *Albertus Magnus*, *Alexander Hales*, St. *Thomas*, and many others after them: And their Method of Divinity may be reckoned the third, for there are two more ancient. The **First** was that of the *Fathers* of the *Church*, who *Studied the Holy Scripture immediately*, chiefly drawing from thence the Knowledge which was neceſſary for the inſtruction of the Faithful, and the refutation of the Hereticks; this *Theology* continued till towards the Eighth Age. The **Second** was that of *Bede*, of *Raban*, and others of the ſame time, who not being able to add any thing to the Inſtructions of the *Fathers*, contented themſelves with Copying them, making *Collections and Extracts out of them*, and taking *Gloſſes* and *Commentaries* upon the Scripture out of them alſo. The **Third** was that of the *Schoolmen*, who handled the *Doctrin of the Scripture, and the Fathers, by the Form and Inſtruments of* Logick *and* Metaphyſicks, *drawn from the Writings*

tings of Ariſtotle: *And thus Cardinal* Perron *defines it.* Perr. *Euchar.* C.M. c. 29.

At the ſame time the Studies of *Civil Law* and *Medicks* were revived, but it was impoſſible then to Study *Civil Law* well ſince they wanted Laws. The *Roman Laws*, and thoſe *Barbarous Laws* which had been obſerved under the two firſt Races of our Kings, were aboliſhed by contrary Cuſtoms, or by Forgetfulneſs and Ignorance. They were not in a Condition to make new Laws, becauſe as yet, they had not Re-eſtabliſh'd the Foundations of Civil Society; the liberty of Travel, the ſecurity of Trade and Induſtry, the Union of the Citizens, the Common People were either Slaves, or look'd upon as ſuch: The Nobles lived diſpers'd, and Cantonized every one in his Caſtle, with his Arms always in his Hand. There were no other Laws in *France*, but unwritten Cuſtoms, very uncertain, and very different, by reaſon of the prodigious number of Lords, in whoſe power it was to give Law. It is true, that in *Italy*, the Books of the *Juſtinian Law* were recovered, and it began publickly to be Taught at *Montpelier* and *Tholouſe*. But theſe Laws were not Laws for us, becauſe the *Gauls* had been freed from the *Roman-Yoke*, before *Juſtinian* was in the World. Furthermore, they were not able to underſtand them, by reaſon of Ignorance of Languages and Hiſtory; there not being any Tradition of them preſerved amongſt us by the practice of our Courts, for Six Hundred Years after they were Written. They did not however omit to Study, and apply them as they could to their preſent occaſions; and they gain'd a great deal of Authority by the great Name of *Roman* *V. Hiſt. de droit* Franc.

Roman Law, and by the extream neceſſity there was of ſome Rules in judicial proceedings.

The *Eccleſiaſtical Law* was not in ſuch an ill condition. The practice of the Canons was preſerved, though Diſcipline began to be remiſs. There were many Collections of ancient Canons; amongſt others, that of *Gratian*, who lived in the middle of the Twelfth Age. 'Tis true, they were not very Correct, and they were intermixt with many paſſages of the Fathers, which ought not to have the force of Laws, together with the Decretals Fathered upon the firſt *Popes*, which at laſt have been own'd to be *Suppoſititious*. This Example makes it appear, of how great importance it is, for the preſerving Tradition in its Purity, that there be always in the Church, Perſons who are skill'd in Languages and Hiſtory, and who are well vers'd in critical Learning.

Medicks was ſtill worſe treated than *Civil Law*: Hitherto it had been in the Hands of the *Jews*; excepting ſome Secrets of Old Women, and ſome Traditions of Receipts, which were preſerved in Families. The firſt Books which they Studied, were thoſe of the *Arabians*; and amongſt others, the Writings of *Meſua* and *Avicenna*. They received their Fooleries and Superſtitions; and in the mean time neglected as theſe had done *Anatomy*, and they conſulted them alſo for the knowledge of *Plants*. As there were none but the *Clergy* and the *Monks* who Studied, ſo there were none but they who were *Phyſicians*. *Fulbert* Biſhop of *Chartres*, and the Maſter of the Sentences, Biſhop of *Paris*, were *Phyſicians*. *Obizo*, one of the Religious of St. *Victor*, was *Phyſician* to *Lewis* the *Groſs*: *Rigord*, *Monk* of St. *Denys*, who has Writ the Life of

Philip

Philip the *Auguſt* was one alſo. One of the Councils of *Lateran*, held under *Innocent* the II. in the Year 1139. takes notice of it, as an abuſe long practiſed; that *Monks* and Regular *Canons*, to get Money, profeſs'd themſelves *Advocates* and *Phyſicians*. This Council ſpeaks only of thoſe *Religious*, who were profeſs'd; and *Medicks* ceaſed not to continue in the Hands of *Clergymen* Three Hundred Years after. But it being never permitted to the *Clergy* to ſhed Blood, nor to keep a Shop of Ware: This might probably be the cauſe of the diſtinguiſhing *Phyſicians* from *Chyrurgeons*, and *Apothecaries*. This diſtinction has for a long time kept *Phyſicians* in the Speculation only, without applying themſelves to Experiments.

VIII. *Univerſities and their four Faculties.*

THus all Studies were reduc'd to four ſorts or faculties. The three principal, *Divinity*, *Law*, and *Phyſick*. The fourth comprehended all Preliminary Studies, which were accounted neceſſary to arrive unto theſe higher Studies, which were called by the general Name of the Arts. Doubtleſs Reaſon requires that Men ſhould Study what is moſt uſeful: firſt for the Soul, and then for the Body, and the advantages of Life. Upon this project, *Univerſities* were Founded, eſpecially that of *Paris*, which could hardly have its beginning later than the Year 1200.

For a long time there had been about the Biſhops Houſes two ſorts of Schools: The one for the *Young Clergy*, to whom *Grammar*, *Singing*, and *Arithmetick*, were taught; and their Maſter was either the *Chanter* of the *Cathedral*, or the *Ecolatres*, otherwiſe called the *Capiſcol*, that is, the Head of the School. The other School was for *Prieſts*, and *Clerks* of an higher Form; to

whom the Biſhop himſelf, or ſome Prieſt Commiſſioned by him, Explain'd the *Holy Scriptures*, and the *Canons*; afterwards the *Theologal* was expreſly erected for this Office. *Peter Lombard* Biſhop of *Paris*, better known by the name of *Maſter* of the *Sentences*, had made his School very Famous for Divinity: and there were ſome Religious of St. *Victor*, in great repute for the *Liberal Arts*. Thus the Studies of *Paris* became Famous. The *Decretal* alſo was taught there; that is, *Gratian's Compilation*, which was look'd upon as an intire Body of the Canon Law: There alſo *Medicks* were Studied. And thus joyning theſe four principal Studies, (which were called Faculties) together; they named the Compound of them all, *Univerſity* of *Studies*. And at laſt, ſimply *Univerſity*: To denote that in one City alone, all things were Taught which were uſeful to know. This Eſtabliſhment ſeemed ſo conſiderable, that the *Popes* and *Kings* favoured it with great Privileges. Perſons came to Study at *Paris* from all Parts of *France*, *Italy*, *Germany*, and *England*; in a word, from all Parts of *Latin Europe*, and thus the private Schools of *Cathedrals* and *Monaſteries* came to be neglected: Let us ſee more particularly what was Taught in each Faculty.

Theologal.

Decretal.

IX. *The Faculty of the Arts.*

UNder the Name of Arts, were comprehended *Grammar* and *Humanity*; the *Mathematicks* and *Philoſophy*: But to ſpeak properly, this Name ought only to comprehend the Seven Liberal Arts, of which we find Treatiſes in *Caſſiodore* and *Bede*, viz. *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, *Logick*, *Arithmetick*, *Muſick*, *Geometry* and *Aſtronomy*. A Maſter of Arts ſhould be one, capable to teach all theſe. For *Grammar*,

Grammar, they read *Priſcian*, *Donatus*; or ſome other of the ancients, who had Writ upon the *Latin* Tongue, rather to acquaint the *Romans* of their Times, (to whom it was natural) with its utmoſt Niceties, than to teach its Elements to Strangers.

In the Thirteenth Age, *Latin* was no longer in Common uſe, amongſt the People, in any place of the World; and in *France* the ordinary Tongue was that which we ſee in *Ville-hardoüin*, in *Joinville*, and other *Romancers* of the ſame time. It ſeems to me, that they ought to have apply'd the Art of *Grammar* to this Language, chuſing the moſt proper Words, and the moſt natural Phraſes, fixing the inflexions, and giving Rules for *Conſtruction* and *Orthography*. The *Italians* did ſo; and about the end of the ſame Age, there were ſome *Florentines* who Studied to Write well in their Vulgar Tongue; as *Brunetto Latini*, *John Villani*, and the Poet *Dante*. As for our Language, it was not purified, but by Time; and they did not ſet upon it, by publick order in the *French Academy*, till Four Hundred Years after the Inſtitution of *Univerſities*. 'Tis true, that *Latin* was ſtill neceſſary for the reading of good Books, and the Exerciſe of Religion; and they who Studied at that time, were all Church-men. *Latin* alſo was neceſſary for buſineſs, and for publick Acts; and ſo it was for Travel, ſo that Interpreters were called Latinizers. It was therefore impoſſible to be without *Latin*; but it was alſo impoſſible to Eſtabliſh the ancient purity of it, by reaſon of ſcarcity of Books, and upon other accounts, which I have obſerved. They were forc'd to be contented with ſpeaking,

and Writing it meanly. They made no ſcruple of mixing therewith many Barbarous Words, and to follow the Phraſe of the Vulgar Tongues; they were ſatisfied with barely obſerving the *Caſes*, *Numbers*, *Genders*, *Conjugations*, and Principal Rules of *Syntax*. To this they wholly reduc'd the Study of *Grammar*, looking upon all the reſt as an unprofitable Curioſity, ſeeing Men ſpeak only to be underſtood; and a more Elegant ſort of *Latin* would have been more hardly underſtood. And thus that Barbarous *Latin* came to be formed, which has ſo long been uſed in the Palace; which is with difficulty corrected in the Schools; and which is ſpoken yet in *Germany* and *Poland*, for the convenience of Travel. Thence comes the neceſſity of *Gloſſes* and *Commentaries*, for the Explication of the ancient Books, Written in a pure Style.

Poetry conſiſted only in knowing the meaſure of *Latin* Verſe, and the quantity of Syllables; for they went not ſo far as to diſtinguiſh the Characters of Compoſures, and the difference of Styles. This appears by the Poems of *Gunther*, and *William* of *Breton*, which are only meer Hiſtories of a flat Style, and as bad *Latin* as that wherein they wrote in Proſe. To the reſtraint of quantity and cuttings off, they added that of Rhimes which made their *Leonine* Verſes; and often neglecting even quantity; they only made ſimple Rhimes in *Latin* as in *French*, and this was that which they called the Church *Hymns*; this was all the Poetry of Men which were ſerious. As for the Vulgar Poetry, which began to be in requeſt about the Twelfth Age (as may appear by ſo many Romances and Ballads,) it ſoon became

came the peculiar Talent of Debauchees and Libertines. Such generally were the Country *Trombadours*, and other Poets of this time, who followed the Courts of Princes. In the mean time it must be confeſs'd, that ſeveral of them were Men of Wit, and (conſidering the time) of Politeneſs alſo; yet their Works were full of fulſom Love, and Extravagant Fictions. From this time they continued more and more to ſeparate the pleaſure of Diſcourſe, from reaſoning and ſolid Studies; and this is that which made *Rhetorick* neglected in the Schools; for there they were not ſolicitous, either to pleaſe, or to move the Paſſions.

They chiefly apply'd themſelves to Philoſophy, and they believed, that it needed no Ornament of Language, or any Figure of Diſcourſe. Thus endeavouring to render it Solid and Methodical, they made it very dry and ungrateful; not conſidering, that a Natural and Figured Diſcourſe, ſpares a great many Words, and helps the Memory, by the lively Images it imprints upon the Mind. In the mean time, there being no Study without Curioſity and Emulation: Our Learned Men, did as the *Arabians* had done, either through imitation, or by the ſame principle, and ſtuff'd their Philoſophy with an infinite number of Queſtions, more ſubtle than ſolid, falling ſhort extreamly of the Idea of the ancient *Græcians*.

The Logick of *Socrates*, which we ſee in *Plato* and *Xenophon*, was an Art of ſeriouſly ſeeking after Truth, and he call'd it the *Dialectick Art*, becauſe this ſearch cannot be well made, but by Converſation betwixt two Perſons, both careful to reaſon well. This Art then conſiſted in anſwer-

ing rightly to every Queſtion in making exact Diviſions, in well defining Words and Things, and attentively weighing every Conſequence before 'twas granted, without being in an Heat, without fearing to be overcome, and to confeſs their Errours; and without deſiring (through Prejudice, or any By-reſpects) that one propoſition ſhould be true, rather than another. So that in this Logick, Morality enter'd, and Eloquence found a Place. For ſince Men are uſually Paſſionate, or prevented with ſome Errour, their Paſſions muſt firſt be calm'd, and their Prejudices removed, before Truth be propoſed, which without this preparation, would only offend them. Now, this Method requires marvellous Diſcretion and Addreſs, for Men to accommodate themſelves to the infinite variety of Minds, and their Diſtempers: And this is that which we admire in *Plato*. 'Tis upon this Foundation, that *Ariſtotle* Parallels *Logick* with *Rhetorick*; and ſays, that both the one and the other has the ſame Deſign, which is to perſwade by Diſcourſe. *Logick* uſes more ſolid and convincing Reaſons; becauſe, in particular Converſation, we better know the diſpoſition of him to whom we ſpeak; and we have liberty to try all neceſſary ways to Conduct him to the Knowledge of Truth. Inſtead of which, *Rhetorick*, which is the Art of diſcourſing in Publick, is often obliged to follow the Prejudices of its Auditours, and to bottom its Reaſonings upon that which they acknowledge; becauſe it is impoſſible to perſwade them to Change, by ſpeaking to them a little while, and in a great Aſſembly. And upon this account, *Ariſtotle* ſays, that *Rhetorick* only uſes *Enthymems*; that is to ſay, ſuch Reaſonings

Ariſt. *Ret.* 1.

ſonings as are partly in the Auditours Mind, and which it is not needful to Explain. Such was *Logick* amongſt the *Greeks*: The Art of finding out Truth, as far as poſſible, by natural means.

Our Philoſophers ſeem to have conſidered Truths, only in themſelves, and the Order which they have to one another, independently upon us. And 'tis true, that this was always done in the *Mathematicks*; becauſe their objects raiſe no Paſſions in us. It is no Man's intereſt to maintain, that a Right Line is a Crooked one; nor that an acute Angle ſhould be an Obtuſe one. But, ſince *Logick* is the Inſtrument of all Sciences, and eſpecially of Morality, it ought to comprehend every thing that is neceſſary to make all ſorts of Truth to enter into Men's Minds; and rather thoſe which the Paſſions do obſtruct than others. Nevertheleſs, it doth not appear, that our *Philoſophers* had ſufficient regard to the diſpoſitions of their Diſciples. They have apply'd to all ſorts of Subjects the dry Method of *Geometricians*; and being the firſt of them had to do with very dull Diſciples (for it was not known in *France* what was Politeneſs 500 Years ago,) they took great care to ſeparate all their Propoſitions, to put all their Arguments in Form, and evermore to diſtinguiſh the Concluſion, the Proofs, and the Objections: So that it was impoſſible for the dulleſt Pupil to miſ-apprehend them. They thought that they mightily ſhortned the Work, by cutting off all Ornaments of Diſcourſe, and all the Figures of *Rhetorick*; but probably, they did not conſider, that thoſe Figures which render the Diſcourſe lively, and animated, are nothing but the natural Conſequences of that effort, which

we make to perſwade others: Beſides, theſe Figures do much ſhorten the Diſcourſe; often they diſcharge an objection by one Word, often an handſom Turn is a better Proof, than an Argument in Form; and always thereby, the tedious repetitions of Terms of Art are avoided.

Let the Experiment be made, and one Page of Scholaſtick Diſcourſe will be reduc'd to the fourth part, by changing it into an ordinary, and natural Diſcourſe: And yet they who are accuſtomed to this way of Reaſoning, believe that Figurative expreſſions, contain nothing but Words, and cannot own any thing to have Reaſon in it, that is not diſtinguiſhed by Articles, and Titles. I'm very ſenſible, that 'tis ſometimes neceſſary to argue in Form, or to uſe Terms of Art, and name the *Major* and the *Minor*, to give Light to ſome important Reaſon, and unravel a Sophiſm: But it doth not therefore follow, that this muſt be always done. Men do not ordinarily Expreſs themſelves by ſet Forms of Speech, becauſe theſe are neceſſary in Contracts and Oaths. Something ſhould be left to be done by the Scholar, who ought not to be ſo injuriouſly Treated, as to be ſuppoſed uncapable of obſerving the Strength of a Reaſon, if he be not pointed to it by the Finger.

The Study of *Philoſophy* conſiſted chiefly in Studying *Ariſtotle*, whom the Profeſſors Read, and Explain'd in Publick. But as the greateſt part of Commentatours are very Copious upon the beginnings of their Authors; ſo here, in time, they made very tedious Treatiſes upon all the Præliminaries of *Logick*. Of *Ariſtotles Categories*, which are only a ſhort Explication of all the ſimple Terms which can enter into Propoſitions, they have

have made a very large Diſcourſe, and have therewith mix'd a great deale of *Metaphyſicks*, and even *Theology* For ſpeaking of *Relation*, ſome have enter'd very far into the Myſtery of the *Trinity*. They have alſo made very long Comments upon *Porphyry's* Introduction; whence proceeded the Famous Treatiſe of Univerſals. They have alſo joyned thereunto Queſtions upon the Name and Eſſence of *Logick* it ſelf; as whether it be an Art, or a Science, *&c.* And in theſe Prefaces they dilated ſo much, that they were forc'd to be very ſhort upon the Rules of *Syllogiſms*, and all things elſe which make up the main Body of *Ariſtotle's Logick*.

The ſame almoſt has likewiſe been done in Morality. There they have dilated upon the general Queſtions concerning the End, of the Soveraign good, of Liberty, *&c.* So that they wanted time to treat of Vertues in particular, and to give ſpecial Rules for the Conduct of Life; which nevertheleſs, ſeems to be the end of Morality. And herein, *Ariſtotle* might be of great uſe; for he knew perfectly well the manners of Men, and if his thoughts did not always ſoar ſo high as *Plato's*, yet he reaſoned more according to the actions of ordinary Life, and the Practices of Men. But after all, this is but a low degree for Chriſtians to aim at, who ought to have learn'd from their Infancy, a Doctrin infinitely above, even that of *Plato* himſelf.

X. Medicks. *or* phyſick.

OF all Sciences, *Phyſick* was the moſt imperfect, at the time when *Univerſities* began to be Form'd. This Science was wholly taken from the *Arabians*; and inſtead of Founding it upon Experience,

Experience, and beginning by well aſſuring themſelves, what things were real and in Truth, they Founded it altogether upon *Ariſtotle*, and his *Commentatours*, and upon general Reaſonings. And truly it was not eaſie for the Learned Men of this Time to make Experiments: They were all either *Monks* or *Clergymen*, ſhut up in *Monaſteries* and *Colleges*; for moſt part Poor, either by *Profeſſion* or by their *Fortune*. The Arts were at a very low Ebb; a great many inventions were loſt, and few, as yet, of them were found again. The *Artiſans* were generally Slaves, and very deſpicable; Men would not eaſily believe, that any thing could be learn'd of them. However, whether this had been ſo or no; Men's Minds were not diſpoſed to examin Matters of Fact, and conſult Experience: They rely'd upon the Authority of Books, and took all for granted which they ſaid of the effects of Nature, and their Cauſes. They were ſo far from deſpiſing what was extraordinary, that the moſt marvellous things always ſeemed moſt worthy of their Notice. Hence came the belief of an infinite number of Fables, with which the World is ſtill infected, though Pains are daily taken to undeceive Men; ſo many occult Qualities, ſo many Sympathies and Antipathies, ſo many imaginary properties of Plants, and Animals: This alſo was that which raiſed the credit of *Magick* and *Aſtrology*, which then was but too high. The Doctrin of the influences of the Stars, was ſuppoſed, as an undeniable Truth; and theſe good Men thought themſelves happy enough, by proving, that they could not Act upon the free Wills of Men; giving all the reſt of Nature, even the Organs of Human Bodies, to

S. Tho. 1. 2. *q.* 9. *art* 5. *ad* 2. *&* 3.

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their direction. They believed, that there was a ſort of *Natural Magick*; and every thing, of which they knew not the Cauſe, they aſcribed to that which was *Supernatural*, that is, the Power of *Wicked Spirits*. For, being aſſured by *Religion*, that there are ſuch *Spirits*, and that God permits them ſometimes to Deceive Men, nothing did more handſomly conceal their Ignorance, than to attribute to them all that, of which they could give no Account. Thus the Fictions of the *Poets* of this time, were not, by much, ſo abſurd, as they appear to us. It was probable, even in the Opinion of their Learned Men, that there had been, and that there were ſtill in divers parts of the World, *Diviners* and *Enchanters*; and that *Nature Produced Flying Dragons*, and divers kinds of *Monſters*.

This Belief of *Fables* in *Natural Hiſtory*, introduced a great many Superſtitious Practices, eſpecially in *Medicks*; where People always love to do ſomething that is Uſeleſs, rather than omit any thing that may be of Advantage. To Study *Natural Philoſophy* (under which was comprehended *Medicks*) was onely to Read Books, and Diſpute; as if there had been no Animals to Diſſect; no Plants, or Minerals, whoſe Effects were to be Try'd; as if Men had not had the Uſe of their Senſes, to have ſatisfy'd themſelves of the Truth of that which others had ſaid. In a word, as if no ſuch thing, as *Nature*, had been in the World, to have been Conſulted in her Self. Much after this manner were Arts, and eſpecially *Medicks*, treated in the Univerſities.

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XI. *Civil and Canon Law.*

THe ſame Method was purſued in Law. Since the ignorance of *Latin* and *Hiſtory* hinder'd them from Underſtanding the *Texts*, they betook themſelves to the *Summaries*, and *Gloſſes* of thoſe who were preſumed beſt to Underſtand them: and who themſelves, having not the help of other Books, did onely Explain one place of the *Digeſt*, or the *Decretal*, by another; comparing them, as exactly as they could. The Faults of theſe *Maſters* eaſily deceived their *Diſciples*; and ſome ſo far abuſed their Credulity, as to mix with their Gloſſes Ridiculous *Etymologies*, and Abſurd *Fables*. Whether it was, that they did not Apprehend that they could not Practiſe the *Laws*, if they did not underſtand them, or that they deſpaired to underſtand them better: However it was, their greateſt Endeavour was to Reduce them to Practiſe, to handle Queſtions upon the Conſequences which they had drawn from the *Texts*, to give Counſel, and Decide Caſes. But when they undertook to apply this *Roman Law* to our Affairs (which was ſo ill underſtood by us, and ſo different from our Manners) and yet, at the ſame time, preſerve our Cuſtoms, which it was impoſſible to Change; The Rules of Juſtice became much more uncertain. All *Civil Law* was reduc'd to School-Diſputes, and the Opinions of Doctors, who, having not ſufficiently penetrated into the Principles of *Morality*, and *Natural Equity*, ſought ſometimes their particular Intereſts. They alſo, who ſought after Juſtice, knew no other Means of procuring it, but particular Remedies againſt Injuſtice; which made them invent ſo many New Clauſes for Contracts, and

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V. Gloſ. *in c. 1. extra de ſummar. in verb.* Diabolus. *Item in Inſtitut. de jure nat.* &c. S. 4, 5, 6.

ſo many Formalities for Judgments. They, as the *Phyſicians* did, labour'd onely to heal Preſent Evils, without taking care to ſtop the Fountains of them, and prevent 'em for the future; or rather they could not do it. For, to take away the General Cauſes of Vexatious Proceſs and Injuſtice, it is requiſite, that the Soveraign Power be Concern'd; that there be ſome certain and ſtable Laws known to all the World, and Publick Officers fully Authorized. A great many Means of Inriching, as well as Ruining themſelves, muſt be taken away from particular Perſons; and, as far as poſſible, they muſt be reduc'd to the moſt Simple and Natural Way of Living; as we ſee in that Law, which God himſelf gave to his People, and which, whilſt they obſerv'd it, made them ſo happy. But then *Europe* was ſo divided, and Princes ſo weak, both in Power and Intellectuals, that it never came into their heads to make ſuch Laws.

XII. *Divinity.*

Divinity was more purely Studied. And indeed we find in all Times, a *Senſible Protection of God over his Church, always to preſerve therein the Sound Doctrin.* But though the Doctrin was the ſame, as in the foregoing Ages, the manner of Teaching was different. The Fathers of the Church being, for the moſt part, Biſhops, very much imploy'd, ſcarce Writ any thing, but when they were neceſſitated, for the *Defence of Religion*, againſt *Hereticks* and *Pagans*, and they Treated onely of ſuch Queſtions as were really propoſed. A good part of their Works are Sermons, which they made to the People, in Explaining the *Holy Scripture*. But the *Doctors* of the *Univerſities*, being

ing wholly taken up in Studying and Teaching, did ſeparate even all the parts of *Eccleſiaſtical Studies* one from another. Some confin'd themſelves to the *Explication of Scripture*, which they called *Poſitive Theology*: Others to the *Myſteries* and *Speculative Truths*, which is called by the general Name of *Scholaſtick*: Others to *Morality*, and the Deciſion of *Caſes of Conſcience*. Thus their end in the Schools, being to Teach, they made it their Buſineſs to Treat of as many Queſtions as they could, and to place them Methodically. They thought, that to Exerciſe their Diſciples, and prepare them for Serious Diſputes againſt the Enemies of the Faith; they ought to examine all the Subtilties, which Human Reaſon could furniſh them with upon theſe Subjects; and Obviate all the Objections of Curious and Reſtleſs Spirits. They had Leiſure for it; and they were provided with Means of doing it, out of *Ariſtotle's Logick*, and *Metaphyſicks*, together with the *Commentaries* of the *Arabians*. Thus they did much the ſame thing, which is done in *Fencing-Schools*, and the *Academies*; where, to give Activity and Spirit unto Young Men, they Teach them many things, which are very rarely made uſe of, in Real Encounters. In Explaining the *Maſter* of the *Sentences*, whoſe *Book* was lookt upon as the *Body* of *Scholaſtick Divinity*, they form'd every day New Queſtions upon thoſe which he had Propounded: and afterwards they did the ſame upon St. *Thomas's Sums*. But now, it muſt be confeſs'd, that this Forming, and Reſolving of Queſtions, and, in general, This meer Reaſoning, did, for a long time, *Leſſen Mens Application to Poſitive Studies*, which conſiſt in Reading and Criticiſm; as the knowing

knowing the Literal Senſe of Scripture, the Sentiments of the Fathers, and Matters of Fact in *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*. 'Tis true, theſe Studies were very difficult, through the great ſcarcity of Books, and the little Knowledge of Ancient Languages. A *Bible*, with the ordinary Gloſs Compleat, was not to be found but in Great Libraries. A private perſon was rich when he had *Gratian's Decretal*; and the greateſt part knew not the *Fathers* but by this Collection.

XIII. *The Reſtoration of Humanity.*

THis was very much the State of Studies in *France*, and in *Europe*, when Men began to apply themſelves to *Humanity*, I mean, chiefly to *Grammar* and *Hiſtory*. This Reſtoration may be reckoned from the Year 1450, and the Taking of *Conſtantinople*, which made ſo many Learned *Greeks* retire into *Italy* with their *Books*. For though *Petrarch* and *Bocace* had revived theſe Studies in the foregoing Age, yet hitherto they had made but little progreſs. But in *Greece* Studies were yet well enough preſerved. The *Commentary* of *Euſtathius* upon *Homer* is enough to ſhew, that, to theſe latter Ages, there were remaining an infinite number of Learned Books, and Men. Thus, after the Middle of the Fifteenth Age, a Whole Shoal of Learned Men appeared, all at once; (firſt in *Italy*, then in *France*, and proportionably in the reſt of *Europe*) who, with incredible diligence ayply'd themſelves to the Reading all the Books of the Ancients they could find, to the Writing *Latin* as purely as 'twas poſſible; and Tranſlating *Greek Authors*. The *Art of Printing* (found out at the ſame time) made it much eaſier for them to procure Books, and to have them Correct. So that ſeveral afterwards labour'd in putting out excellent

excellent *Editions* of all the Good *Authors*, according to the beſt *Manuſcripts*; enquiring after the moſt Ancient, and comparing ſeveral together. Others made very exact *Dictionaries*, and *Grammars*; others *Commentaries* upon difficult *Authors*; others *Treatiſes* upon all thoſe Requiſites which might help to the Underſtanding of them; as their *Fables*, their *Religion*, their *Government*, their *Art of War*; and even to the *leaſt* particulars of their *Manners*, their *Habits*, their *Eating*, their *Diverſions*. Inſomuch, that they have taken all the pains neceſſary to make us underſtand as much as 'tis poſſible, after ſuch a Long Interval, all the reſt of the Ancient *Greek* and *Latin* Books.

But ſome have too much dwelt upon theſe Studies, which are onely Inſtruments for other Studies more Serious. For there have been ſome Curious Perſons, who have ſpent their Lives in Studying *Latin* and *Greek*, and in Reading all *Authors*, for the Laaguage ſake; or only to underſtand the *Authors*, and explain ſome difficult paſſages of them, without going any farther, or making any uſe of them. There have been ſome who have gone no farther than *Mythology*, and ſome other Antiquities which I have mentioned; who have ſought after *Inſcriptions*, *Medals*, and all that might give any *Light* to *Authors*, ſeeking onely the pleaſure, which they found in theſe Curioſities. Some proceeding farther, have Studied the *Liberal Arts*, according to the Ancient *Rules*, as *Eloquence*, and *Poetry*, nevertheleſs without Practiſing them; whence it came, that we have ſo many Modern *Treatiſes* of *Poetry*, and *Rhetorick*, and yet ſo few *True Poets* and *Orators*: and ſo many *Political Tracts*, made by thoſe, who never were concern'd in Buſineſs. Laſtly, The diligent reading the

Books

Books of the *Ancients*, produc'd in many ſuch a blind Reſpect for them, that they choſe rather to follow their Errors, than to give themſelves the Liberty to Judge of them. Thus it was believed, that Nature was, in all Reſpects, ſuch as *Pliny* has deſcrib'd her to be; and that ſhe could do nothing but according to the Principles of *Ariſtotle*. The worſt of it is, that many have admired their *Morality*; and did not conſider, how much it was *below* that *Religion* which they had learn'd from their Cradle. Others, though but a few, have exceeded on the other hand, having affected to contradict the *Ancients*, and run as far as they could from their Principles. But of thoſe who have admired them, the moſt ordinary fault has been, an aukward Imitation of them.

It has been believed, that to Write as they did, it was neceſſary to Write in their Language; without Conſidering, that the *Romans* Writ in *Latin*, and not in *Greek*; and that the *Greeks* Writ in *Greek*, and not in the *Egyptian*, or *Syriack* Language. They thought themſelves happy, if they could attain to the making good Verſes in *Latin*; they have alſo compoſed ſome in *Greek*, at the peril of not being underſtood by any Body: And they, who, as *Ronſard* and his *Followers*, began to make *French Verſes*, after their Reading of the *Ancients*, have fill'd them with their *Words*, their *Poetical Phraſes*, their *Fables*, their *Religion*, without concerning themſelves, whether ſuch *Poems* might pleaſe thoſe who had not Studied as they had done: It was ſufficient, that they made them Admired for their Profound Learning. They imitated alſo the Oratours; they made Harangues in *Latin*, and ſtuff'd their Diſ-

courſes in *French*, with *Latin* ſayings. In a word, they thought to make uſe of the *Ancients*, was to get them by heart, to ſpeak of the things of which they ſpake, and to repeat their own proper words: in ſtead of which, well to have imitated them, they ought to have pitcht upon Subjects which had more relation to us, as they had choſen thoſe which appertain'd unto them to have treated them, as they did, after a ſolid and diverting way; and to have Explained them, as well in our Language, as they had Explained them in theirs.

This new kind of Study rais'd a ſort of War amongſt the Learned. The *Humaniſts*, Charm'd with the Beauty of their *Ancient Authors*, and valuing themſelves upon their New Diſcoveries, deſpiſed the common ſort of Doctors, who, following the Tradition of the Schools, neglected Style, to follow Things; and preferr'd what was profitable, to what was pleaſant and agreeable. The *Doctors* on their ſide, I mean the *Divines* and *Canoniſts*, lookt upon theſe *New Philologers* as *Grammarians*, and *Poets*, who amus'd themſelves with Childiſh Toys, and Vain Curioſities. But the *Humaniſts* made themſelves heard, becauſe they Writ Politely, and by the Reading of the *Ancients*, had learnt to Railly with a good Grace. The Doctrine of *Luther*, who aroſe a little while after, fomented theſe Quarrels, and made them more ſerious. He was for Reforming Studies as well as Religion. He was for having no *Philoſophy*, and no *Prophane Sciences*. He was for Burning *Plato*, *Ariſtotle*, *Cicero*, and all the Ancient Books, that nothing might be Studied but the *Scripture*, and all the remaining part of time ſpent in

V. Epiſt. obſcur. vir. Erasm.

Ep. ad nov. Germ. an. 1520.

in Hard-Labour. Thus carrying the thing too high, he expoſed the moſt Holy Maxims of *Antiquity* to Cenſure. The Reſiſtance which he found among the *Doctors of Divinity*, and the *Cenſures* of the *Faculty of Paris*, and other *Univerſities*, made him their Irreconcileable Enemy. He treated them with the laſt degree of Contempt; and *Melanchthon*, his Faithful Diſciple, imploy'd all his Wit, and all his fine Learning, to render them Ridiculous. But the Reformers did not long continue in this their firſt Severity againſt Prophane Studies. They ſoon became more Zealous in Studying *Humanity*, ſeeing that Eloquence, and an Opinion of their ſingular Learning had drawn a great many Followers to them. They now lookt upon theſe Studies as a neceſſary Means towards the Reformation of the Church; and would have this Reſtoration of Learning paſs for a Principal Sign of the Will of God in this Matter. It ſeemed, if you wou'd have believed them, as if this Knowledge of Languages, and Hiſtories, which they had by conſtant Pains acquired, was a certain *Mark* of an *Extraordinary Miſſion*; and making them to be Admired by the Ignorant, they eaſily perſwaded them, that the *Catholick Doctors* were no better Skill'd in Religion, than they were in good Learning. But they had not this weak advantage very long. The *Catholicks* ſoon ingag'd them with their own Weapons; and uſed ſucceſsfully againſt them the Original Languages, and the Ancient *Authors*, according to their own Editions. Then Men began again to Study the *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, very little known in the Foregoing Ages. They Studied *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*, the *Councils*, the Anci-

Hiſt. Eccleſ. de Beze, *initio.*

ent Canons: They aſcended to the original of Tradition, and took the Doctrin from the Fountain-Head. The literal ſenſe of Scripture was ſought after by the help of Languages and Criticiſm. I well know, that many, even of the *Catholicks*, have driven theſe inquiries to vain Curioſities, and that ſeveral alſo continued too much Wedded to the old Style of the Schools. So difficult a thing it is, for Men to keep themſelves in a true Mediocrity.

The Language of the Scholaſtick Philoſophy, which came to us from the *Arabians*, is not in it ſelf, worthy of any particular reſpect; it is like the Architecture of our ancient Churches. This Architecture which we call *Gothick*, and which truly is *Arabick*, is neither more Venerable, nor more Holy, for having been apply'd unto Holy uſes in times, when Men knew no better. It would be a ridiculous delicacy, to reſolve never to enter into any Churches built after this manner; as it would be alſo a vain ſcrupuloſity not to dare to build any of a better Model. It is by chance, that theſe Idea's come to be joyned to thoſe of Religion; and that which comes from the Cuſtoms and Inſtitutions of Men, ought to be diſtinguiſhed from what things are in themſelves.

If on the one Hand, this Reſtoration of Humanity has render'd Studies more ſolid and agreeable than before; on the other, they have made them more difficult; for they have been rather augmented than changed, and Men were deſirous to retain all. Thus by little and little, and by a long Tradition, that courſe of Studies which is at preſent obſerved in the publick Schools, has been Formed. Firſt of all, *Grammar* with the

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Latin Tongue, Poetry, that is, the making of *Latin* Verſes, *Rhetorick*, and upon occaſion, *Hiſtory* and *Geography*, then *Philoſophy*, and afterwards *Divinity*, *Law* and *Medicks*, according to Men's different Profeſſions. I leave it to thoſe who have paſs'd through them, to judge, whether nothing is taught in the Schools, but what is uſeful, and whether all that is neceſſary be taught therein. My deſign, as I ſaid at firſt, is only to ſpeak of private Studies. And this is the Reaſon why I have thought, that I may be permitted to ſet aſide the Authority of Cuſtom, and to reaſon freely concerning the matter of Studies, as *Philoſophers*, (who are the moſt obedient to the Laws of their Country) nevertheleſs, take the liberty to reaſon upon *Politicks*. I ſhall ſpeak of Studies in general, though my principal purpoſe is to reſtrain my ſelf to thoſe, which are moſt uſeful to Youth, inſtructed in private; and I ſhall only propoſe my Reflections, which are founded upon Experience.

THE SECOND PART OF THE Choice, and Method OF STUDIES.

I. *Of the Choice of Studies.*

WE ought, in my Opinion, first to inquire what Study is, and what end Men ſhould propound to themſelves in Studying. To heap together an abundance of Knowledge; though it be with great Labour, and to diſtinguiſh ones ſelf from the common ſort, by knowing that which others are ignorant of; is not

not ſufficient to denominate a Man a Student. For if ſo, then to count all the Letters of a Book, or all the Leaves of a Tree, would be to Study; ſince this would be a very difficult task, and would end in a very ſingular ſort of Knowledge. But, why would this Pains taking be ridiculous, but becauſe it would be neither a profitable, nor a grateful Work? That therefore ought not to be called Studying, which hath not for its end, at leaſt, the Pleaſure of Knowledge; but yet, Pleaſure cannot juſtifie thoſe Studies which prejudice others that are better, or ſuch imployments as are more uſeful. We ſhould pity that Sick Perſon, who ſhould be ſollicitous about nothing, but to dreſs himſelf according to the Mode, and Eat every thing that is grateful to his Palate, inſtead of ſeriouſly ſeeking after the means of a Cure. A young *Artiſan* would deſerve to be Laugh'd at, who in the time of his Apprenticeſhip, ſhould entertain himſelf with drawing of Pictures, and playing upon Inſtruments, inſtead of learning his Trade. He might think it a fine Apology, to ſay, that he takes Pleaſure therein, and that Painting and Muſick are more noble Employments than thoſe of the *Carpenter* or the *Smith*. But nevertheleſs, his Father or his Maſter would read him another Leſſon. Leave theſe things, would they ſay, to *Muſicians* and *Painters*, the time which you ſhall ſpend in their Trades, will hinder you from learning your own. You are wholly to apply your ſelf to that, and are permitted, only to ſpend the *Holy-Days* in your Innocent Diverſions, inſtead of Debauchery. Much after the ſame manner young Scholars may be accoſted.

'Your Education muſt be the Apprenticeſhip of
'your Life; you are to learn how to become an
'Honeſt Man, and skilful in the Profeſſion,
'which you ſhall undertake; apply therefore
'your ſelf altogether to that, which may make
'you ſo. But *Grammar*, *Poetry*, and *Logick* (he'll
'ſay) divert me: I find great pleaſure in the
'Knowledge of the Tongues, in drawing Ety-
'mologies, and making different Reflections up-
'on the Language of Men: I love to judge of
'Styles, and to examine the Rules of Poetry: I
'love theſe Learned Speculations upon the nature
'of Reaſoning, and theſe exact Enumerations of
'all thoſe things which may Form a Concluſion.
'You have reaſon to do ſo; all theſe pieces of
'Knowledge are pleaſant: They alſo are praiſe-
'worthy, and you may uſe them to ſuch a De-
'gree: But beware leaſt Pleaſure carry you too
'far, and that you do not beſtow too much
'time upon them: Natural Philoſophy alſo has
'great Charms; if you give your ſelf up too
'much to *Mathematicks*, you have Work enough
'in them for your Life. Some have thought it
'too ſhort for the Study of Hiſtory; and others
'have ſpent it in mere Curioſities of Travel, of
'underſtanding the pleaſant Arts, as *Painting*
'and *Muſick*, of inquiring after things that
'are Rare. In the mean time, when will
'you begin to learn to provide for your ſubſi-
'ſtance? When will you inſtruct your ſelf in the
'things which are proper to your Profeſſion?
'You ought wholly to renounce theſe Pleaſures,
'if you cannot tell how to moderate them; but if
'you would purſue them in a reaſonable degree, and
'ſeaſonably, beſtow upon them that time, which

'others

'others ſquander away in Eating and Drinking,
'in Play and unprofitable Viſits. But nevertheleſs, obſerve your times of Exerciſing your
'Body and unbending your Mind; for Health
'and Liberty of Mind, is to be preferr'd to all
'Curioſity.

Beſides Pleaſure, there is ſtill another great Temptation to be avoided; which is Vanity. How many Studies are there which Men have ſought after, only to make a ſhow, to diſtinguiſh themſelves, and aſtoniſh the Ignorant. The way to know which they are, is to think what we ſhould Study, if we were to live in Solitude, and never to ſpeak to any Body.

Nothing therefore ſhould be called Study, but the Application to ſuch kinds of Knowledge as are uſeful in Life. And there are two ſorts of them; one whereof are profitable for Action, teaching Men how to acquit themſelves worthily in reſpect of thoſe Duties which are common to all Mankind, or of thoſe which are proper to each Profeſſion. The others are uſeful in Retirement, furniſhing us with means how to imploy our ſelves honeſtly in our times of Repoſe, and to make advantage of our leiſure Hours, avoiding Idleneſs and Debauchery. The firſt ought to be the end of a Man, as a Man, whoſe perfection is Moral Vertue; who is in the next place to be conſidered, as a Member of Civil Society. It is alſo of great Importance, that he ſhould improve the Intervals of Action: All Men's Actions tend only to reſt, and leiſure; and this Eſtate is moſt dangerous unto thoſe, who know not how to uſe it well. But they who know how to profit thereby, gain ſuch knowledge, as may be ſerviceable to them in the

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Conduct of their own Lives, and thoſe of others; and moreover, in acquiring it, taſte the pureſt pleaſures of this Life. For, as by bodily Labour, Men gain their Bread, which the Body receives with Pleaſure, and gives new Strength unto it for new Labour: In like manner, by buſineſs and the actions of Life, we obtain reſt; wherein we learn how to manage the following actions of our Lives, and that with pleaſure. And providence hath ſo diſpoſed the Bodies of Children, that whilſt they are not yet capable of Labour, they require a great deal of nouriſhment, to make them grow, and become ſtrong. The ſame alſo is true of the Soul, there being no Age, wherein we learn ſo eaſily, and deſire ſo much to learn, as during our Childhood, when we are unfit for action; inſtead of which, old Age, wherein Men become uncapable of Learning, is very fit to inſtruct, and hath a great inclination thereunto; inſomuch, that there is no State of Life, of which we may not make a good uſe, if we know how to co-operate with the intentions of the Creatour.

Youth therefore is a very precious time; Curioſity and Docibility are never ſo great as then. Children would know all things, all Objects are new to them, and they look upon them with attention and admiration; they continually are asking Queſtions, they are for attempting all things, and imitating all that they ſee done. Beſides, they are Credulous and Simple; they take Words for that which they ſignifie, till they be Taught to be Cautious, by finding that thoſe about them do Lye to them, and deceive them. They take what impreſſion you will, having neither Experience nor Reaſon to reſiſt them. The Memory

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is never more pliable, nor more ſure; and what things they have in this Age been accuſtomed to think on more than others; to the ſame they apply themſelves with more Facility and Pleaſure all the days of their Lives. 'Tis evident, that God hath given all theſe qualifications to Children, to the end that they may learn that which may ſerve them all the reſt of their Lives. And it is alſo from the ſame Providence, that they have not theſe diſpoſitions beſtow'd upon them in vain; but that, at the ſame time, is given to them a capacity of retaining all that is neceſſary to them, and the external means of Learning it.

It is the fault of thoſe who have inſtructed Us, and Ours afterwards; if we want any of that knowledge which is neceſſary: Whence it is, that the Ignorance of our Duties, renders us truly culpable. Now the capacity which we have to know, and to retain, is not little; and there is no Man ſo meanly inſtructed, and of ſo groſs an underſtanding, provided he be not altogether ſtupid, who knows not a vaſt many things. Take a Peaſant, who knows not how to Read, and never learn'd a Trade, he knows how the moſt neceſſary things of Life are done; what is the price of them, what are the means to come by them; he knows the Trees and Plants of his own Farm, the nature of the Soil, and the different ways of Tillage it requires; together with the Seaſons proper for each: He knows the way of Hunting and Fiſhing, according to the cuſtom of his Country; and an infinite number of ſuch like things which are uſeful and ſolid, and yet not ordinarily known by thoſe who are called Learned. The ignorant therefore are not ſuch as think of nothing, and who have

have nothing in their Memory. They have fewer things therein, and think oftner of them, without Order and Connexion; or elſe they think of a great many things, but yet ſuch as are little, mean, vulgar, and uſeleſs. The firſt are more dull and heavy, theſe more light and unſtable. On the contrary, Learned and Skilful Men, have not always their Heads better made than others, but they uſe them more, they think more upon Great, Noble, and uſeful Objects.

But yet, how large ſoever this capacity of Learning and Retaining is, in thoſe, whoſe natural Diſpoſitions are moſt happy, it is clear nevertheleſs, that it is limited, ſince it depends (at leaſt in part,) upon the Diſpoſition of the Brain, and the Soul it ſelf is a Creature, whoſe Vertue is Finite. Beſides, Life is ſhort, the greateſt part of it is imployed about the neceſſities of the Body, and the reſt is given us, rather for Acting, than for Learning. In ſhort, without ſpeaking of that which is above our reach, we may ſay, that no particular Perſon can know all that, which yet the Mind of Man is capable of knowing. Whoever ſhould have the Vanity to pretend to it, would leave a great many things unknown, to burthen himſelf with many which are ſuperfluous; and yet even in theſe, would daily diſcover Countries, which were before unknown to him.

We therefore ought to husband our time; and with great care chuſe that which we are concern'd to know, and ſo much the more, becauſe we cannot forget, when we would. For Knowledge is not like *Pictures* or *Medals*, which we put into a *Cabinet*, that we may look upon them when

when we have a mind, and ſet them out of ſight when we would not ſee them. We have no other place, wherein to put our Knowledge, but our Memory, and our Soul it ſelf; there it remains, often as long as we live, and thoſe things we deſire the moſt to be rid of, are they which moſt frequently offer themſelves. Moreover, 'tis our Good or Evil Thoughts, which Form our Manners; inſomuch, that an Errour which we have embraced, is like a Poiſon we have ſuck'd in; the effect of which is no more in our power to prevent.

And if we be obliged to be careful in our choice of what we Study our ſelves, we ought to be more careful for the inſtruction of others, eſpecially Children. It is more injuſtice to laviſh away the Goods of another Man, than our own; and it is a ſort of cruelty to cauſe them to go aſtray, who are committed to our Conduct. It is ordinarily thought, that this choice is of no importance to little Children. As ſoon as the firſt ſparklings of Light begin to appear in them, they are generally ſuffered to receive a great many ill impreſſions, which muſt afterwards be blotted out: Inſtead of helping them forward, they are uſually encouraged in their defects. They are credulous, the Story of the *Aſs's Skin*, and an Hundred other impertinent *Fables* are related to them, which take poſſeſſion of their Memory, in its firſt *rawneſs*. They are fearful, they are told of *Hob-goblings*, and *Horned Beaſts*; they are continually threatned. All their little paſſions are indulged; their *Greedineſs*, *Anger*, *Vanity*: And when they are catch'd in the Net, when they ſay ſome Fooliſh thing, by drawing a right conſequence

quence from an impertinent Principle, which has been inſtill'd into them; how are they Laugh'd at, and Triumph'd over, for having been deceiv'd! And preſently, how are they Kiſs'd, how are they careſs'd, as if they had done well! Poor Children are uſed as if they were made for the Diverſion of great Perſons; as little *Dogs*, or *Apes*. In the mean time it ſhould be conſidered, that they are reaſonable Creatures, whom the *Goſpel* forbids us to deſpiſe: Upon this high conſideration, that they have the Bleſſed Angels for their Guardians. How much therefore are Men, eſpecially Parents, obliged to take care of them, to cultivate their Minds, and form their Manners? But what! (may it be ſaid) Muſt Children be Educated in a Dull and Melancholy way, by ſpeaking to them of nothing but ſerious and high Matters? Not at all; Men ought only to take the trouble of accommodating themſelves to their Capacity, that ſo they may be aſſiſted gently, and led along with ſweetneſs.

Mat. xviii. 10.

11. *The way and Method to give Attention.*

THere are wanting in Children only two things towards their *Reaſoning well*, *Attention* and *Experience*. The moveableneſs of their Brain, which cauſes them continually to be in Motion, and not continue long in one Place, is the Reaſon, why they cannot conſider any one Object for any conſiderable time, much leſs obſerve the Order and Connexion of things. The little Knowledge they have of particular things, is the cauſe why they want principles of Reaſoning; which are drawn from Matters of Fact, from Laws of Nature, and the inſtitution of Men. As for Principles, which proceed purely from the Light of

of Nature, they have the ſame then, they will have as long as they ſhall live. They may therefore Err, when they lay down a poſitive Principle, or when they do not ſufficiently attend to natural Principles; but they draw their Concluſions aright, and if they had not then the notions of the great Principles, and of good Conſequences, they would never have them: For Men do not give theſe notions to one another, they proceed only from the Creatour, ſince they are the Foundation of Reaſon it ſelf. The defect of Experience is that which may be firſt ſupply'd, by anſwering all their Queſtions with the ſame ſimplicity, with which they propoſed them; telling them the Truth in every thing as far as 'tis uſeful for them to know it, and explaining it to them very clearly. Nor is it enough to ſatisfie their Curioſity concerning all the ſenſible Objects, which make them ſpeak; but they ſhould alſo be informed in uſeful Hiſtories, as that of Religion, and of their Country. But great care muſt be taken, to Explain to them every thing, of which, as yet, they have had no Experience, that ſo, if poſſible, they may ſay nothing, of which they have not a diſtinct Idea in their Minds. They may alſo be Taught ſome Fables, as thoſe of the Famous Gods of Antiquity, and the Fables of *Æſop*, which may be uſeful to them for Morality. Theſe Toys do divert them, and do them no harm, when they are not given to them, as things of greater value than they really are. But they ought never to be deceived.

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As for Attention, they muſt be brought to it with Sweetneſs, and a great deal of Patience. It will come with time. And when they ſhall begin to be more capable thereof, at firſt it may be excited, by the pleaſure of ſome kind of Knowledge which Invites them: afterwards, by Fear, Threatnings, and even Chaſtiſements themſelves. But let theſe laſt Means be never uſed, but after all others have been Attempted.

As for their firſt Inſtructions, I would have them given ſo, as that they ſhould not perceive there is any Deſign of Inſtructing them. Their Intervals from Play may be made profitable to them. When they are weary with Running, and Exerciſing themſelves, Relate to them the *Hiſtory* of the *Terreſtrial Paradiſe*, ſometimes the *Sacrifice of Abraham*, or the *Adventures* of the *Patriarch Joſeph*: At another, ſome *Fable* (as I have Adviſed) without obliging them to repeat that they have Learnt, but leaving it to them, of their own accord, to do it, when they ſhall be in Good Humour. There are beſides, divers Artificial ways of Exerciſing the Curioſity of Infants in this firſt Age; as by *Pictures*, and *Images* ſet before them, that they may deſire the Explication of them: By Diſcourſes held before them, as not thinking of them; and continuing them, if they ſhall hearken to them, directing the Diſcourſe even to them alſo. When ſeveral are together, Emulation may be of great uſe: That may be ſaid to one before another, which we would have the other to Learn: To him who ſhall be moſt obedient in other things, it may be propounded as a Reward, to

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tell him ſome Fine Story. Knowledge and Study ſhould frequently be commended before them, without letting them ſee, that it is upon their Account. In ſhort, the *Natural Temper*, and *Particular Inclination* of each Child ſhould be Studied, that he may be brought to be *Attentive*, either by *Pleaſure*, or ſome other *Motive* which Affects him. For this end, Nets muſt be ſet for them on all ſides, that they be deceived, for their own good as much as poſſible; not ſo, as to render them Quarrelſom and Malicious; and this is Cheating them to their own Advantage. Above all, care ſhould be taken, in theſe firſt years, when Impreſſions are very ſtrong, never ſo to joyn the Idea of a *Rod*, with that of a *Book*, that they ſhall never think of *Study*, but with Dread: This makes Study a Pain to them; and there are ſome, who never will be wrought upon after this manner. On the contrary, they ought to be drawn on with Joy, which is Natural to this Age. We ſhould Laugh, and Jeſt with them ſometimes, provided, that Authority doth not ſuffer thereby; and rather expect ſome years before we enter them upon Serious Inſtructions, and Regulated Study. As the Brain of Children is very tender, and all things to them are New, they are much affected with the Senſible Objects which ſurround them, and are continually Attentive to them. Hence it is, that they do eaſily joyn together what affects them at the ſame time; ſuch a certain Sound, with ſuch a Figure, or Smell, which yet have no Natural Connexion with one another. Hence it is, that they Learn ſo eaſily to Speak; Hence alſo it is, that Chaſtiſements have their effect upon them. But

this alſo is that which is the cauſe of their Errors: for they take all that for good which is agreeable to their Senſes, or which is joyned to any agreeable Object; and the contrary for evil. Theſe Firſt Impreſſions are ſo ſtrong, that often they form the Manners of the Child, for all the remaining part of his Life; and ſeems to be one of the Cauſes of the different Cuſtoms of whole Nations. So that, he who could be ſo happy as to joyn agreeable Senſations to the firſt Inſtructions, which are given of things uſeful, for Manners, or for the Conduct of Life: In a word, to joyn that which is truly good with pleaſure: This Man would have found the Secret of Education; [a Secret much more valuable than that of the *Philoſopher's Stone.*] I know, that, upon this Principle, Sweet-Meats, Images and Money, and Fine Cloaths are given to Children, to Recompence their Diligence, and Excite them to do well: But, by this, we do them more harm than good. Hereby we Cheriſh in them the Seeds of Gluttony, Covetouſneſs and Vanity. They ſhould be Invited by more Innocent Pleaſures than thoſe of Eating, of Poſſeſſing any thing, and making themſelves Gazed upon and Admired: and I know none ſo ſuitable to this end, as thoſe of Sight; ſuch are the Beauties of Nature, Pieces of Painting and Architecture, Symmetry, Figures and Colours. As the Sight makes us Attribute all its Impreſſions to External Objects, ſo its Pleaſures carry us onely to Admire and Love theſe Objects, and not our Selves, which is the great danger. Agreeable Sounds, and Good Smells have proportionably the ſame effect; and this perhaps is the Reaſon

Reaſon, why, in the Solemn Office of the Church, it has been thought Expedient, to yield ſomething to theſe Three Senſes. For this Reaſon I ſhould Adviſe, that the firſt Church to which the Child is carried, ſhould be the Faireſt, Cleareſt, and moſt Magnificent; That he be rather Inſtructed in a Fine Garden, and in the ſight of a Pleaſant Proſpect, when the Weather is Serene, and when he is in the beſt Humour. I would have the firſt Books he is to uſe, well Printed and Bound; that the Maſter himſelf, if poſſible, be Well-made, Proper, Speaking well, with a good Tone, an Open Countenance, and agreeable in all his Deportments: And ſeeing it is difficult to meet with theſe Qualities joyn'd with others more Eſſential, I would, at leaſt, that he have nothing, that is Unbecoming, Rude and Diſtaſtful.

The little care that is taken to accommodate our ſelves to the weakneſs of Children, in all theſe things, is the Reaſon, that, for the moſt part, they have an Averſion, and Contempt as long as they live, for that which they have been Taught by Old, Ill-humour'd, and Melancholy Perſons; and that the Diſguſt they take againſt Publick Schools, built after an Old Faſhion, which have neither Light nor good Air, often Influences even their *Latin*, and other *Studies*.

But whatſoever is done to make Children Attentive, it is not to be hoped they will continue ſo any long time; nor that they can always be led on by Pleaſure. There is often need of Fear; Joy Diſtracts them, and joyning it ſelf, to their Natural Levity, makes them, in a Moment, paſs from one Object to another. It is al-

ſo to be feared, that they will be too Familiar with their Maſter, if he be always in a Pleaſant Humour; and that ſeeking always to divert them, he be too Airy, and diſcover ſome Weakneſs. He muſt therefore often take upon Himſelf the Character which doth more properly belong to him, which is the Serious. He muſt ſometimes ſhew Anger both in his Looks, and by the Tone of his Voice, to ſtop the Carreer of theſe young Minds, and make them enter into themſelves. And ſometimes if it be neceſſary, to paſs from Threats to Chaſtiſements, they may be managed ſeveral ways before they come to Corporal Puniſhments: and they ought to be made ſenſible, that they are only Puniſhed for want of Attention, or ſome Fault relating to their Manners; and not meerly for their Ignorance, and want of Wit; to the end, that they may not look upon Puniſhment as an Evil, but a Piece of Juſtice. *Above all, all poſſible care ſhould be taken, never to be really Angry at them, what Mein ſoever may be put on.* I know very well that this is not eaſie; The Office of Inſtructing is not always Pleaſant; If the Diſciple begins to be tired, (though he often is diverted by ſeeing ſomething New:) The Maſter has Reaſon much more to be ſo. And, in this Caſe, Reſentment is ſoon taken, and it is ever and anon excited by the continual Fooleries of Children, ſo oppoſite to the Humour of an Old Man, or one arrived to the years of Maturity. Beſides, Threatnings and Chaſtiſements are much a ſhorter way to give Attention, than that Inſinuation, and thoſe Pleaſant Artifices of which I have ſpoken. But what is more Commodious

for

for the Maſter ought not to be regarded; and it is certain, that it is always more profitable for the *Scholar* to be Conducted by Sweetneſs and Reaſon.

At leaſt, great care ſhould be taken that they be not Corrected without cauſe, tho' it be but by a Word, or a Look. For, how juſt ſoever the Reprimand may be, it is always Harſh; eſpecially in an Age wherein the Paſſions are ſo ſtrong, and the Reaſon ſo weak. It is a ſort of Wound, which imploys all the Attention of the Soul, and ingages her in thinking on the Grief which ſhe feels, or the Injuſtice which ſhe imagines ſhe has received. Inſomuch, that if the Injuſtice be real, and the Child perceives it, either by ſomething which goes before, or ſomething which follows, (as the Judgment of others, or that of his Maſter himſelf, when he ſhall, but never ſo little, come to himſelf;) If, I ſay, he perceives that his Maſter is Paſſionate, or that he is not exactly Reaſonable; He will not fail either to hate, or Deſpiſe him; and, from that time, his Maſter becomes uſeleſs to him. And it ought not to be imagined, that Children are eaſie to be deceived herein: They are very ſenſible whether they have Right, or Wrong done to them; and they have a very quick Senſe whereby they can diſcern the Paſſions by the Viſage, and all External Motions; though, as yet, they know not how to expreſs them, and do not ſo much as reflect that they do obſerve them.

They have this Good Quality, that their Ill-humour and their Anger do not laſt long, and that they ſoon return to that Joy which is more natural to them. Let us be cautious not to op-

poſe it: Not to make them ſad, by putting Fear into them for a long time; not altogether to diſcourage them, by driving it to exceſs. It is better that they ſhould be a little Wanton, then to be Drooping and ſad againſt their Nature. On the contrary, they ought not, at any time, to be Afflicted, but to the end that they may make good uſe of that Compoſed State they ſhall be in afterwards. For it muſt not be expected, that Reprimands, or Inſtructions, will have any great effect upon them, as long as Fear, or Grief do poſſeſs them. They ſee nothing then but the Evil with which they are Threatned, or which they feel; and, if the Puniſhment be violent, their Sighs oppreſs them, and they are beſides themſelves. But as ſoon as the Tempeſt is over, and they are return'd to a reaſonable Temper, they fall to Study afreſh, and 'tis then we ſhould give them Inſtructions, when they are in a condition to underſtand them. Not that we ſhould always expect ſo much Reaſon from them, as to condemn themſelves. But, at the ſame time, when they make their frivolous excuſes, they ſee that they are in the wrong, and often do Correct themſelves afterwards.

Though I have ingaged my ſelf to ſpeak of this Method of giving Attention, with reſpect to the firſt Inſtructions which are given to Children; yet it is eaſie to ſee, that it extends to all other Studies proportionably. In the beginning, they ſhould, as much as poſſible, be ingaged by Pleaſure, and afterwards retain'd by Fear. As their Reaſon ſhall become ſtronger, there will be leſs need of theſe Artifices.

Let

LEt us return to the Choice of Studies, from which I have a little digreſs'd, to ſpeak of the firſt Inſtructions, and the General Method of Teaching. Study is the Apprenticeſhip of Life, it ſhould furniſh us with the Means of acting well, and uſing our Leiſure well. Life is ſhort; The Capacity of the Brain is Stinted; Youth is the moſt proper time for Learning. I think I have eſtabliſhed theſe Principles, and have reaſon thence to conclude, That we ought to chuſe with great Caution, what is to be Taught to Young Perſons. But, to make this Choice well, we muſt not confine our ſelves to one certain ſort of Perſons, or one certain kind of Studies. We ſhould, as much as poſſible, conſider all at once; all Differences of Men, and Knowledge which are p o-per for them. Let us conſider all Reaſonable Creatures of both Sexes, of all Conditions, as well thoſe which are aſcribed unto Fortune, as Riches, Poverty, Greatneſs, and the Private Life; as thoſe which proceed from Choice; as the Sword, the Gown, Traffick and Trades. And though we do not conſider them but in one Age onely, yet we ſhall not fail to examin all the degrees of them, from the firſt Infancy to the Ripe Age, and perfect ſtate of each Perſon concerned in them.

III. *The Diviſion of Studies.*

As for Knowledge, the Profitable ought well to be diſtinguiſhed from the Pleaſant; and the firſt ſhould be divided according to the Three Sorts of Goods for which they may be uſeful: The Goods of the Soul; as Underſtanding, and Vertue: Thoſe of the Body; as Health, and Strength: And thoſe which are called the Goods

of Fortune, and which are the Subject of Buſineſs. Amongſt thoſe Pieces of Knowledge which are Profitable, thoſe may be diſtinguiſhed which are moſt ſo; and they, without which none can be without, may be reckon'd as Neceſſary. Theſe Diſtinctions being ſuppoſed, it will be eaſie to Regulate the Choice of Studies of which we now Treat. For 'tis evident to any one, how little ſoever he will follow the Dictates of Reaſon, that, what immediately concerns our Selves, as we are Compoſed of Body and Soul, is to be preferr'd to all that which is without us; and that amongſt External things, thoſe which are neceſſary for our Subſiſtence, ought to be choſen before thoſe, which onely give Pleaſure. It is ſufficiently clear alſo, that they who have leſs Leiſure for Study, or leſs Capacity, as Artiſans, Soldiers, Poor People, and all Women, ought to be Inſtructed in that Knowledge which is more Generally Uſeful: For, it is not juſt, that they, who have Reaſon as well as others, ſhould Live without any Inſtruction at all. To Conclude, as for the Diſtinction of Ages, it is evident enough, that Children muſt be ſo managed, that they be not over-charged at firſt; and yet, that the Time, when they are moſt capable to Learn, ſhould not be ſuffer'd to be ſpent unprofitably. I ſhall follow theſe Diſtinctions through all the reſt of this *Treatiſe*; and firſt, ſhall examin the Studies which are moſt neceſſary to all the World; afterwards thoſe which are of no uſe, but to them who have moſt Leiſure (as the Rich, the Honourable, *&c.*) whether they be thoſe which are very profitable, or thoſe which are the moſt Curious. Afterwards, I ſhall obſerve in what order

der Studies may be Taught to Youth. And Laſtly, I ſhall ſhew which are thoſe, every Man ought to Apply himſelf unto, all the reſt of his Life, according to the Profeſſion which he embraces.

IV
Religion & Morality

AMongſt the Inſtructions neceſſary to all the World, the Care of the *Soul* is moſt urgent: and it concerns us more to Govern our *Wills* well, than to enlarge our *Knowledge*. The firſt Study therefore is that of *Vertue*. All Men are not bound to have Wit, to be Learned, and Expert in Buſineſs, to excel in ſome ſort of Profeſſion; but there is none, of what Sex and Condition ſoever he be, who is not obliged to live well. All other Goods, without this, are unprofitable, ſince this ſhews the uſe of the other. We can never have enough of this, and yet the greateſt part of Men have ſo little of it, that thereby it appears how difficult it is to attain it. We cannot therefore Labour after this too ſoon, and ought not to think, that *Morality* may be deferr'd to the end of our Studies, and then that we ſhould onely beſtow but a little part of our time upon it, and thence preſently paſs to another Study. For it ſhould he begun from the Cradle, at leaſt as ſoon as the Child is put into the Nurſes Arms, and continued as long as he is under Tuition. The Maſter has hitherto done nothing, if his Scholar goes not from him with Reſolutions to apply himſelf unto it all his Life. I know very well, that it is the Church, from whom the Faithful ought to Learn *Morality* and *Religion*; and that the True Profeſſors of this *Science*, are the *Biſhops* and the *Prieſts*. But it is but too well known,

known how little effect publick inſtructions have, at leaſt, if Domeſtick inſtructions do not aſſiſt, and prepare the way for them.

Divers Methods, according to the condition of the Child, ought here to be obſerved, by ſpeaking of it to him, much leſs at the beginning, than when Reaſon begins to exert it ſelf in him, and always to augment your inſtructions, as it only grows ſtronger. At firſt, Maxims ought to be laid down, without rendring a reaſon of them; there will be a time to do that afterwards.

And becauſe I ſuppoſe a Morality, which is Chriſtian, whoſe Precepts are founded upon the Doctrins of Faith. I would begin with theſe Doctrins, firſt of all to inſtruct the Child. I have already touch'd upon this, when I ſaid, we ought to begin with them, by teaching them Matters of Fact, and mentioned thoſe, which ſhould be firſt planted in their Memories. For the firſt inſtructions of Religion ſhould then be inſtill'd into them, when it is not yet adviſable to imploy them in any formal Leſſons; being careful to recount to them a great many Matters of Fact, and Maxims, to the end, that they may be furniſhed with Principles of Reaſoning, when they ſhall afterwards come to have the ſtrength of Attention, and the habit of Thinking. Theſe Diſcourſes will be as it were, Seeds ſown at all Adventures, which ſpring up, and bring forth more or leſs, as the Soil is fruitful, and Heaven is favourable.

I ſhall not here dilate upon the particular Method of Teaching Religion. What I have ſaid upon this ſubject, may be ſeen in the Preface

face to the Hiſtorical *Catechiſm.* When Children have learn'd this *Catechiſm*, or any other that is better, and are capable to read the *Holy Scripture*, care ſhould be taken to make them know the outward beauties thereof; I mean, the Excellency of the different Styles that they obſerve in the Hiſtories, how Choice and Orderly plac'd the Matters of Fact are; how ſhort, lively, and (at the ſame time) how clear the Narration is: That they take notice, in the Poetry of the Nobleneſs of the Elocution, the variety of Figures, the ſublimity of the thoughts: In the Moral Books, of the Elegance, and Brevity of the Sentences; in the Prophets, the vehemence of the Reproaches and Threatnings, and the richneſs of the Expreſſions: That all this be ſhewed to them, by compariſon with prophane Authors, whom the Learned eſteem ſo much; and that it be by no means forgotten to ſignifie unto them, that the Tranſlations do not come up to the beauty of the Original Language. The ſame prophane Authors will further help them to underſtand the Manners of this firſt Antiquity, and cauſe them not to be ſurprized by a great many Modes of Acting and Speaking, which offend the ignorant, when they read the *Scripture*; which is that which I have endeavoured to do, in the *Manners of the* Iſraelites.

I believe it will be uſeful to give them ſome ſlight Knowledge of the Fathers, and other Eccleſiaſtical Authors; for I am concerned to ſee, that the moſt part of *Chriſtians*, who Study, know *Virgil* and *Cicero*, better than St. *Auguſtin*, or St. *Chryſoſtom.* You'll ſay, perhaps, that in them we do not meet with that Wit and Knowledge

ledge which we find in the *Pagan* Authors; and that *Chriſtian* Authors are proper for none but Prieſts and Devout Perſons: Their Title *Holy*, is a prejudice to them; and doubtleſs, makes many Perſons believe, that their Works are full only of ungrateful Exhortations, or Meditations. Men ſeek Philoſophy in *Ariſtotle*, and put him to the Torture, much againſt his Will, to accommodate him to Chriſtianity; and yet, they have in St. *Auguſtin* a Philoſophy altogether Chriſtian; at leaſt, *Morality*, *Metaphyſicks*, and the moſt ſolid part of *Logick*: For, as for natural Philoſophy, he did not apply himſelf thereto. Why ſhould we not ſeek for Eloquence in St. *Chryſoſtom*, in St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, and in St. *Cyprian*, as well as in *Demoſthenes* and *Cicero*? And why in them ſhould we not alſo look for *Morality*, rather then in *Plutarch* and *Seneca*? *Prudentius*, indeed, is not ſo good a Poet as *Horace* was; but he is not to be deſpiſed, for he has Writ with a great deal of Wit and Elegance, without borrowing the Ornaments of the Ancients, which did not agree with his ſubject. In a word, I would have the young Man early advertiſed, that ſeveral Saints, even thoſe who were moſt zealous for Religion, and moſt ſevere in their Manners, as St. *Baſil*, St. *Gregory Nazianzen*, St. *Athanaſius*, were great Wits, and very polite Men; and if they have undervalued *Human Learning* and the *Sciences*, it was not becauſe they wanted knowledge, but becauſe they knew better.

Moreover, to balance the Human Vertues which are to be ſeen amongſt the ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, I would make my Scholar obſerve, not only the ſame kind of Vertues, but much greater,

greater, and others altogether unknown to the *Pagans*, ſuch as are to be found, either in the Holy *Scriptures*, or the moſt approved *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtories*. I would let him ſee the Wiſdom and the Conſtancy of the *Martyrs*, by the moſt Authentick Acts yet remaining, as thoſe of St. *Pionius*, Prieſt of *Smyrna*, of St. *Euplius* Deacon of *Catanea* in *Sicily*, of Pope *Stephen*, and of ſo many others: The reading of which is moſt delightful. I ſhould make him admire the Patience, and Angelick Purity of the Solitary, by the Relations of St. *Athanaſius*, St. *Jerom*, *Palladius*, *Caſſian*, and many other grave Authors. Laſtly, I would let him know thoſe, who lived as good *Chriſtians*, in the midſt of worldly Buſineſs, and great Imploys; as the Emperour *Theodoſius*, St. *Pulcheria*, *Charlemaign*, St. *Lewis*. Though it be neceſſary to know that there never was any Age wherein the Church had not her great Saints; and to obſerve their different Characters: nevertheleſs, to have a great and holy *Idea* of *Chriſtianity*, it is adviſeable chiefly to dwell upon the firſt Ages, wherein the Vertues were more frequent, and the Diſcipline more vigorous. Thus the Manners of the Chriſtians, whether in the times of Perſecution, or the beginning of the Churches Liberty, ſhould be plainly repreſented: Their *Domeſtick* way of Living, the Form of their Aſſemblies, the Prayers, Faſtings and Adminiſtration of the Sacraments, particularly of Penitence: All this might be related very agreeably. A young Man that had theſe *Ideas* of *Religion*, would have the great Principles of *Morality*, or rather, he would have the thing it ſelf. For I would adviſe, that during this time, he

ſhould

ſhould be Taught the Rules thereof, by the reading of *Holy Scripture*, particularly the *Epiſtles* and *Goſpels* for *Sundays*, the principal *Holy-days*, and *Lent*, and ſome little *Works* of the *Fathers*, as the Confeſſions of St. *Auguſtin*, the Offices of St. *Ambroſe*, the Conſiderations of St. *Bernard*. And becauſe this Study ſhould be carryed on by little and little, together with other Studies of *Humanity* and *Philoſophy*, care ſhould be taken in his reading of prophane Authors, to advertiſe him of all the Errours which are to be met with in them, and the imperfection of their pureſt *Morality*, in Compariſon with the Chriſtian; to the end, that he may value theſe Authors no more than they deſerve.

It is very uſeful to accuſtom Children to judge of that which they read, and often to ask them what they think of ſuch a Maxim, or ſuch an Action, and what they would have done upon ſuch an occaſion. Hereby their Sentiments are Diſcovered, which if bad, may be rectified; if right, encouraged. It is good alſo to Exerciſe them without Books, upon the ſubjects of which they can talk; as upon the occurrences of Life, chiefly upon their little differences; if ſeveral of them be brought up together, the Matter will more affect them, and they will better underſtand the Maxims. For here we ought not to deceive our ſelves, as if Study conſiſted only in reading of Books. All that is uſeful to know, has not yet been Written; and 'tis impoſſible to Read all that has been Written. We ſhould account Reflexion and Converſation to be a great part of our Study. There are a great many things not to be learn'd, but by Tradition and *Viva voce*; and alſo there are ſome which every one apprehends,

hends, by obſerving what others do, and Reflecting upon himſelf. But 'tis chiefly *Morality* which is thus learn'd: Every one Forms his Maxims, much leſs from that which he reads, than from that which he hears ſpoken; eſpecially in familiar Converſation, which he thinks more ſincere than publick Diſcourſes; and from that which he ſees thoſe do, whom he accounts moſt rational. Hence it is, that Example and Authority have ſo great an effect upon Manners. For, ſeeing there are but few Perſons who have Strength and Patience enough for Reaſoning (eſpecially amongſt Youth) and yet none would willingly be deceived: It follows, that they will believe the Wiſeſt, yet, not ſo much what they ſay, as what they do; becauſe Actions are ſurer Proofs of their Sentiments than Words.

And here; behold the great difficulty we meet with in Teaching *Morality*, I mean ill Example, and the Corruption of Manners, not only in publick, but often alſo in private: For, you do well to tell a young Perſon what you know to be the beſt, and to convince him by ſtrong Reaſons. But he has always in the bottom of his Soul, a violent Prejudice, which renders all your Reaſonings Suſpicious; and this is the common Opinion. It ſeems to him, that common ſenſe requires, he ſhould prefer it to yours, and that 'tis more reaſonable to ſuppoſe that you are deceived, than that all the reſt of Mankind are ſo: And if, by chance, the Maſter ſhall diſcover any Weakneſs (as where is the Man, who doth not betray ſomething of it ſometimes?) If he be peeviſh, if his Manners be ungrateful, or ſingular; in a word, if he comes (through his own fault, or otherwiſe)

to

to be hated, or deſpiſed; Preſumption preſently becomes a Conviction, and his Remonſtrances have no further effect; unleſs it be to prejudice the Truth, and to render good Maxims odious, or ridiculous to the Scholar, all the reſt of his Life. Men much rather follow the Maxims of thoſe, whom they Eſteem, and Love; and (ſeeing Men Act by imagination, eſpecially in their younger Years) they eſteem, or love thoſe, who are grateful to them, or ſeem to be happy, as Perſons of Quality, the Rich, thoſe who have a good Mien, who Speak well, who are Straight and handſom Men. Now theſe ſhining Qualities are much more ordinarily to be met with in thoſe who have leſs Vertue, and more rarely in thoſe who Teach, than in others. Beſides, there are ſome Men by general Preſcription, are ſuppoſed to be Wiſe and Vertuous, and yet are not ſo in effect; as ſome Fathers, old Men, Magiſtrates, and perhaps alſo Clergymen and Religious. Inſomuch, that young Perſons, though never ſo well inclin'd, are very hard put to it, how to chuſe thoſe whom they ought to follow. In the mean time, their Paſſions grow, become ſtronger, and hold Intelligence with thoſe many Enemies which attack them from without.

Yet all theſe difficulties ſhould not diſcourage us; and though we ought to hope for nothing, but by the Power of the Divine Grace; yet it is not ſufficient only to implore this Aſſiſtance by continual Prayer, all Human means ſhould alſo be imploy'd. The Succeſs which doth not depend upon us, ſhall not be reckoned to us, neither ſhall we be Reproached for it; and whatſoever ſhall become of the Scholar, the

Maſter

Maſter ſhall be puniſhed for his negligence, or rewarded for his pains. Admoniſh therefore your Charge, that to do well, he muſt draw himſelf out of the Crowd, and not follow the greateſt number: Prove it to him, both by the Authority of the Goſpel, and by Reaſon, ſince whatſoever Principle of *Morality* you ground him in, all that you can account good in the World, will be very little, in Compariſon of the contrary Evil. There are few Rich Men, a great many Poor; few that enjoy Pleaſure, and Honours; few Learned, few Wiſe Men, abundance of Sots and ignorant Perſons; very little Vertue, in what ſenſe ſoever you underſtand it. Make him obſerve that there is ſcarce any one whoſe actions are all of a piece, and who follows the ſame Principle, whether it be good or bad. Make him ſenſible, how Ridiculous theſe Contradictions, ſo ordinary in common Life, appear. The ſame Father, who Preaches to his Son in general, Wiſdom, and a Regular Life, at other times unwarily uſes before him, Licentious Diſcourſes, with Pleaſure relates the Follies of his Youth, and thus teaches him to be a good Companion, and a Spark amongſt the Ladies. The Mother, who carries her Daughter often to Prayers, carries her alſo to a Ball, and to a Play; and holding the *Catechiſm* in one Hand (which ſhe makes her repeat,) with the other ſhe puts on her Ribbons and Patches to make her fine. It cannot be avoided, but that Men will fall into theſe abſurdities, unleſs they ſtick to one only Principle with an immovable firmneſs.

In truth, it is not *Morality*, if it be not perfectly one, and built upon one only Principle. You ought not therefore to ſpeak to your Scho-

lar of *Human Morality*, of *Worldly Wiſdom*, of *Politicks*, or the *Prudence* of this *World*. Nothing of this ſhould enter into his Mind, but it ought preſently to be balanced with the Maxims of the *Goſpel*, by making him comprehend well, that we muſt be Chriſtians altogether, or not at all; that it avails nothing to be ſo by halves, leaſt being abandoned of God, we ſhould renounce our Baptiſm: It is to belye our ſelves, not to follow the Law without reſerve, which we have owned as Divine. But to eſtabliſh a young Man in this Doctrine, it will not be unuſeful to remove certain groſs Calumnies, which are often Form'd againſt *Chriſtian Piety*.

There are ſome ſo little acquainted with it, that they think it allows, or at leaſt, excuſes Sottiſhneſs, and meanneſs of Spirit; and that bravery and greatneſs of Mind, are Vertues only to be found in the Men of the World.

Nevertheleſs, Prudence and Magnanimity are Vertues recommended in the Scripture, as well as Temperance and Juſtice; and the contrary Vices render us no leſs culpable before God, than before Men. The difference is, that Men often are not reaſonable enough to excuſe Defects, which are purely involuntary. Beſides, Devotion is accuſed for making Men ſad; and if they durſt ſay, it Unhappy; becauſe, a great many of thoſe who paſs for Devout Perſons, are ill Humour'd, Critical, and Complaining, whereas, nothing is farther from *Chriſtianity*; for that is a Spirit of Sweetneſs, Tranquility and Joy: And Melancholy, is reckoned by the moſt ancient Spiritualiſts, amongſt the Seven or Eight Sources of all Sins, as well as Gluttony and Impurity.

Beſides,

Beſides theſe Conſiderations, and many other ſuch-like, which may be uſeful to weaken the Objections againſt *Morality*, or altogether to remove them according to the Maſters ability, and the Scholars Docibility: Method is of great Conſequence, for there is no part of Studies which requires ſo much Art and Care. If Children at firſt be over-charged with many Precepts, they are tired, and diſcouraged, or if they take Pleaſure in them, they are apt to grow Conceited, and to read Lectures of *Morality* before their time. They are admired and commended for the fine Diſcourſes they Rehearſe, which infuſes a great deal of Vanity into them. Nevertheleſs, they ceaſe not, at the ſame time, to act as Children, that is to ſay, to follow their Paſſions; inſomuch, that they ſo ſoon accuſtom themſelves to ſpeak well, and do badly, that they become more incorrigible than others; becauſe the excellent Maxims which they know by Heart, when yet they do not Practiſe them, do not affect them at all; and becauſe they think they know more of them, than they who would Correct them. 'Tis alſo very dangerous to make them reflect upon their Faults, without ſeriouſly endeavouring to bring them to amend them: Otherwiſe, theſe Reflections will be like thoſe idle Diſcourſes of ſuch as tire the World, by telling of their Faults, as well as of their Diſtempers; meerly out of Vanity, to make themſelves admired and diſtinguiſhed from the reſt of Mankind, by the delicacy and unaccountableneſs of their Sentiments. I am, ſay they, ſtrangely afraid of Thunder: I have a wonderful averſion to Sots; I am impatient with my Servants.

I am very apt, every Moment, to be Tranſported with Paſſion: And an Hundred ſuch like Fooleries which they complain of, as of their Megrims, and their Vapours. Nothing is more pernicious to a Child, than to accuſtom him to this ſort of Language: The ſureſt way is, to make him put your Directions into Practice, and as much as lies in you, make him ſenſible of all that you ſay, by his own Experience. Some Men have heard much Diſcourſes about *Morality*, and have ſpoke of it much themſelves, who yet are ignorant; that what we call the *Paſſions*, are thoſe lively Motions which a Man feels in his Heart, and in his Bowels; when he fears, deſires, and is in anger. He is accuſtomed to ſpeak of them, as of the Heavens, the Stars, and of all things without him. Young Men therefore ſhould be ſhown by the Finger, and by the Eye (as I may ſo ſay) what is every Vertue, every Vice, every Paſſion, both in thoſe with whom they converſe, and Principally in themſelves. But above all things (as I have ſaid) they muſt be taught to practiſe that which they know; and in this, there is need of great Patience and Diſcretion. They are Weak and Light every Moment; they fall, and fall again into the ſame Faults. They eaſily forget all their *Morality*, when a new object of *Pleaſure* preſents it ſelf: And though they ſhould recal themſelves, they have not ſtrength enough to reſiſt it. To expect that they ſhould attain, in a few days, unto this firmneſs of Mind, is to expect, that a young Plant, ſet to Day, ſhould to Morrow have a ſolid Trunk, and deep Roots. We ought to wait a long time, and not to think it too much to Labour often, and Water the Soil daily. This

This Levity of Children is indeed hard to be born with: But doth it not excite our Reſentment, rather becauſe it is Irkſome to us, than becauſe it harms them? Let us enter into our ſelves, Are we proportionably wiſer than they, in reſpect of the more perfect Age to which we are advanc'd? Have we not, as well as they, our Paſſions? Are we not addicted to our Pleaſures? And if our Divertiſements ſeem to us to be more ſolid than theirs, perhaps to Men more wiſe than we are, they would appear more ridiculous. Let us make the Compariſon with Juſtice. Let us ſuppoſe our ſelves at the Age of our Scholars, and ingenuouſly confeſs, that at that Age, their Thoughts were ours. Thus we ſhall find all Children to be very near a-like. I ſay this, not as if we ſhould neglect in others, the Faults of which we our ſelves are, or have been guilty; nor as if our Scholars ought to take Advantage thereof, if they ſhould happen to come to the knowledge of them: But I ſay that this conſideration ſhould make us very gentle and patient; leaſt by preſſing a Young Man too much, to aſcend all at once to the higheſt Pinnacle of Vertue, by the moſt difficult ways, we caſt him into Deſpair.

The Inſtructions therefore of *Morality* ſhould be managed with great Caution, and Proportioned to the Scholar's Capacity, and much more to the Strength of his Soul. We ſhould be always watchful to ſpy out the Propereſt Occaſions, when they may be given moſt uſefully, without ſcrupulouſly obſerving the order which we have propoſed to obſerve in Studies. Often, from ſome fault which your Scholar has committed, or

ſome Reflection made by himſelf, or which you occaſion him to make, by Reading ſome *Hiſtory*, or *Book* of *Humanity* to him; you'll have a fit opportunity to Inſtruct him in ſome *Important Maxim*, or to Reſcue him from ſome *Error*. Do not loſe theſe happy Opportunities. Quit all things for *Morality*. The occaſions of Teaching him *Hiſtory*, or *Humanity*, will occur oft enough; but your *Scholar* perhaps may come no more to be in ſo favourable a Diſpoſition: And that which is thus ſaid, beſides the Buſineſs, as it were, and without Deſign, doth ordinarily more good, than that which is diſcours'd to him in a Formal Lecture; where he is upon his Guard, becauſe he knows that you will ſpeak of *Morality* before-hand. We ought not to be afraid of making Digreſſions, which Treat of ſomething more uſeful, than the Subject at firſt propoſed.

V. *Civility and Good Breeding.*

Civility is a part of *Morality*. It is not ſufficient to obſerve the *Eſſential Duties* of *Probity*, which makes a Good Man; but alſo, we ſhould Practice thoſe of *Society*, which make a Well-bred-Man. *Rudeneſs* and *Incivility* are not to be found in a *Vertuous Man*, becauſe they proceed either from *Pride*, or a *Contempt* of others; or a Neglect to *Inſtruct* ones *Self* in what he owes to them, and how he ought to *Behave himſelf towards all Men*; or from a *Proneneſs* to fall into *Anger*. Inſomuch that it is impoſſible but a Man muſt be *Civil* and *Well-behaved*, if he be *Humble*, *Patient*, *Charitable*, *Modeſt* and *Cautious*. But, to the end, that *Vertue* alone may doe this, it muſt be arrived to a very high Perfection; as it was amongſt

mongſt the *Ancient Monks* of *Egypt* and the *Eaſt*, who were *Courteous* and *Civil* in the moſt *Affrightful Solitudes*. *Converſation* with the *World* is indeed a ſhorter way to *Good Breeding*: and the Neceſſity of being continually one with another, Obliges Men, at leaſt, to have all the Appearances of *Vertue*, which may render *Society* eaſie. And uſually they go no further than theſe Appearances, making *Civility* onely to conſiſt in an Habit of hiding ones *Paſſions*, and diſguizing his *Sentiments*, that ſo he may teſtifie that Reſpect, or Friendſhip for others, which moſt commonly he has not. So that *Civility* prejudices the Subſtantial part of *Vertue*; whereas it ſhould be a Conſequence of it, and like that *Flower of Beauty* which naturally accompanies an Healthful Body.

Nevertheleſs theſe Flattering Compliments, and Appearances of *Civility*, are generally the firſt Inſtructions given unto *Children*; and thoſe which are the moſt Inculcated, as if all Education conſiſted in this.

And doubtleſs theſe Expreſſions of *Submiſſion*, *Eſteem* and *Affection* would be Excellent, if they were True; for then we ſhould be all Humble and Charitable. But ſince it is not ſo, it would be better to Talk more Truly; or rather to Talk leſs, and Doe more. *There is a great difference betwixt ſhewing Contempt, and teſtifying Eſteem, or Reſpect to all without diſtinction.* And that which ſhews the Ridiculouſneſs of our Compliments are the ſerious Tranſactions of Buſineſs; where the Language is wholly changed; and where the leaſt Intereſt is Diſputed with them, unto whom the Moment before, we ſeemed willing

ling to have granted every thing. *Children*, not having, as yet, Judgment enough to diſtinguiſh the different Subjects and Occaſions, accuſtom themſelves from theſe firſt Inſtructions, to Lye, and Diſſemble upon all occaſions.

Beſides, an abundance of Unprofitable Lyes are told in this Matter. *Civility* conſiſts more in abſtaining from what may be troubleſome to others, in being *Gentle*, *Modeſt* and *Patient*, than in Speaking much, and uſing much Cringing. One Obliging word, well placed, gains more upon us, then all the Great Complements with which ſome *Country Gentlemen* do oppreſs us. They who equally Careſs and Honour all Men, Oblige none; and have nothing whereby to ſignifie their True Friendſhip.

But the worſt ſort of *Civility*, is that, which conſiſts in Conſtrain'd and Forc'd kinds of Geſtures; That *Methodical Civility*, which appears onely in the Forms of ſome Starch'd Compliments, and Impertinent Ceremonies, and which are more Ungrateful than *Natural Clowniſhneſs*: This Affectation to do all things in Mode and Figure, is one of the Principal Characters of a Pedant. And for this Reaſon *Scholars* ought, above all things, to avoid it. For, ſince their Condition reſtrains them, for the moſt part, from Converſing with Great Men, which requires an extreme Politeneſs; I think that their *Civility* conſiſts chiefly in knowing how to hold their Peace, without affecting Silence; and, in ſpeaking nothing but what they know, and as much as *Charity* requires for the Inſtruction, and Satisfaction of their Neighbours; and, as for other things, to Speak and Act juſt like other Men: And

becauſe

becauſe Faults are more ſenſible in Feigned Repreſentations, than in the Natural, it will not be amiſs to conſider the Character which the *Italians* give to their *Doctor* in the *Comedy*, who would always Speak, and always Inſtruct, and be every Moment Angry at thoſe who ſhould be ſo bold as to Contradict him.

VI. *Logick and Metaphyſick.*

THOUGH *Morality* ſhould be the Principal Deſign of all *Education*, yet, at the ſame time, Care muſt be taken of other *Studies*. But ſince all our Knowledge depends upon *Reaſoning*, or *Experience*, and *Experience* availeth little, if it be not Inlightned by *Right Reaſon*; we ſhould begin, by forming the Mind, before we come, in particular, to Matters of Fact, and things that are Poſitive. This Application, to the Cultivating of *Reaſon*, is, in the Natural Order, the firſt of all *Studies*, ſeeing it is the Inſtrument of all; For, in Truth, this is nothing elſe but *Logick*. And the firſt Objects to which we ſhould apply our ſelves, are the Great Principles of *Natural Light*, which are the Foundations of all *Reaſoning*, and conſequently of all *Study*. Now this *Study* of *Firſt Principles* is truly *Metaphyſicks*. Thus *Logick* and *Metaphyſick* ſhould be the firſt *Studies*. And they are ſo truly the firſt, That *Morality* it ſelf, as far as it depends upon *Reaſon*, and not upon *Supernatural Faith*, can have no other Solid Foundation. But yet I have Spoken of *Morality* before them, becauſe it is more neceſſary to be a Good Man, than a Good Reaſoner. Beſides, that I could not ſay that at the ſame time, which yet I would doe at the ſame time, if I ſhould Inſtruct a Young Perſon. Upon this

this account, I ſhall reſerve it to the Cloſe of all the Young Perſons *Studies*, to obſerve, to what Age I ſhould Aſſign them each in particular.

Here I underſtand that Solid and Real *Logick* which *Socrates* profeſt to Teach, when he ſaid, *That it was the Midwife to Mens Minds: That it helped them to bring forth that which was already formed in them: That it taught them nothing new, but made them onely call to Mind what they knew before.* In truth, as I have already obſerved, 'tis not in our Power to Imprint in Children the moſt *Simple Notions*, which are the Foundations or Inſtruments of all others. I call the Foundations of *Knowledge*, *Simple Ideas*; as the *Idea* of *Being*, of *Subſtance*, of *Thought*, of *Will*, of the *Underſtanding*, *Number*, *Motion*, *Duration*: The *Sentiments*; as the *Idea* of *White*, *Heat*, *Grief*, *Fear*, *Anger*, *Hunger*, *Thirſt*: The Judgments alſo which make the firſt Principles do belong to theſe Foundations; as, *The Relation betwixt the whole, and its part*; *Nothing produces nothing*; *Beings ought not to be multiply'd without Neceſſity*; *The Will always ſeeks after Happineſs*. We bring into the World with us theſe kind of Thoughts, and Judgments, which are the Foundations of all other Judgments and Reaſonings, which we make as long as we live: and it is the Attentive Conſideration of theſe Principles, by Abſtracting them from other Notions leſs clear, and leſs certain, and which are onely the Conſequences of them: 'Tis this Conſideration, I ſay, which, is properly, that which is called *Metaphyſick*. *Logick* is the Conſideration of other *Ideas*, and other *Judgments*, which are no leſs clear, and certain, and are alſo born with us; but ſuch as reſpect rather our Knowledge, than the

Objects

Objects of it. And hence it is, that I call them Inſtruments. Such are the *Ideas* of *True* and *Falſe*; *Affirmation* and *Negation*; *Error* and *Doubting*: and, above all, the *Idea* of a *Conſequence*, whereby we underſtand that ſuch a certain *Propoſition* follows from another certain one; that ſuch a *Reaſon* is *Concluding*, and that ſuch an one is *not*. None of theſe Notions can be given to thoſe who have them not, and there is no Man that hath them not, if he hath the uſe of *Reaſon*; for herein preciſely it doth conſiſt.

Logick and *Metaphyſicks*, are not, as 'tis ordinarily ſuppoſed, difficult *Studies* of Abſtracted and High flown things, and which do not concern us; nor of fine *Speculations*, which appertain onely to the Learned. They are of uſe to all the World, becauſe they have for their Object, that onely, which paſſes within our ſelves, and which we know the beſt; and have no other Deſign but to accuſtom our ſelves never to be deceived, nor to reſt ſatisfy'd but with clear *Ideas*; and not to be over-haſty in paſſing Judgment, and drawing of *Conſequences* therefrom. It is to be wiſht that all, which doth not truly ſerve this end, might be taken away from them.

Without entering here, in particular, upon this Inſtruction (ſince I do not Write a *Logick*) I ſhould deſire, that a Child be early accuſtomed, to ſay nothing but what he underſtands, and not have any *Ideas*, but the cleareſt that poſſibly can be. To this end, in all that he ſhould Learn, he ought continually to be Exerciſed in Dividing and Defining, that hereby he might Learn exactly to diſtinguiſh each thing from others, and to give to every thing that which appertains unto it. Not

that I would, as yet, charge his Memory with Definitions, and the Rules of Diviſion and Definition; but make him Practiſe them, upon thoſe Subjects, which ſhould be moſt familiar unto him. When he ſhall have ſtrength enough to retain ſeveral *Ideas*, or ſeveral *Judgments* likewiſe, at once, I would make him apprehend the difference of True, of Falſe, of Uncertain; and I would Convince him, that he ought not to deny every thing, nor to doubt of every thing; but that 'tis neceſſary to follow ſome certain Rules in paſſing our Judgments. In the next place, I would have him to obſerve thoſe Truths, which are the firſt, in the order of Knowledge, and, upon the certainty of which, depends that of all the reſt: Whence would follow the Knowledge of the Soul, and its diſtinction from the Body, the Knowledge of God, and the Rules of True, and Falſe: from which all the reſt of *Logick* might be eaſily deduced. I would have it to conſiſt in a very few Precepts, that is, as many, neither more, nor leſs than ſuch, as ſhould really aſſiſt Reaſon. For, if upon ſtrict examination, it did appear, that Men might Reaſon as Surely, and as Juſtly, without all theſe Obſervations, I ſhould Condemn them only upon this one account, that they would be Unprofitable; and ſhould place them in the Number of *Curioſities*, how True and Pretty ſoever they may be. But doubtleſs it will be found, that ſome Rules of *Logick* (to how little a number ſoever they be reduc'd) will be very uſeful to help *Reaſon*: and alſo ſome Axioms of *Metaphyſicks*, to which every Man, that Reaſoneth, will be obliged to have Recourſe; and which, conſequently, will be the Foundation of all his Reaſonings.

All

All the World ſees the Uſefulneſs of Reaſoning juſtly, and upon Solid Principles (I do not ſay onely in *Sciences*, but in *Buſineſs*, and in all the Affairs of Life.) But perhaps many may not ſee the neceſſity of aſcending ſo high, as the firſt *Principles*, becauſe, in effect, there are few that doe ſo. The greateſt part of Men Reaſon onely within a certain Compaſs, from a certain Maxim which the Authority of others, or their own Paſſions has Imprinted upon their Mind, to the Means, neceſſary to acquire that which they deſire. As for Inſtance, I ought to be Rich: Therefore I will take upon me ſuch an Imployment; I will take ſuch a Journey; I will ſuffer this, and that; and ſo of the reſt. But what ſhall I do with my Wealth, when I have gotten it? But is it really Advantageous to be Rich? This is that which they do not at all inquire after. They, who Reaſon thus, never had other than Vulgar Spirits, of what Profeſſion ſoever they were: though they were the Learned, and the Doctors; though they were Miniſters of State; though they were Princes. I call that a Vulgar Spirit, which is limited to certain Pieces of Knowledge, which is not imploy'd but upon particulars, and Reaſoneth onely upon Experience. And I find, that one of this Spirit is always the ſame, what Object ſoever he propoſes to himſelf. He doth not become greater for applying himſelf to Publick Affairs; and is not more Knowing for concerning himſelf in matters of Science. He will never do more than Reaſon probably upon the Experience of that which he has Read, and gueſs at one Fact from another; but he will never go ſo far, as to Judge of what he Reads, and refer every thing to its proper uſe.

He

He who is truly Learned, and truly a *Philoſopher*, goes further, and begins higher. He takes not up with the Authority of others, nor with his own Prejudices; but riſes always, till he has found a Principle of Natural Light, and a Truth ſo clear, that he cannot call it into queſtion. And, when he hath once found it, he, with aſſurance, draws from it all its Conſequences, and never departs from it. Whence it comes to paſs that he is firm in his Doctrin, and in his Conduct; that he is inflexible in his Reſolutions, patient in the Execution, equal in his Humour, and conſtant in his Vertue. Now this Learned, this Wiſe Perſon may be found in all Conditions. Amongſt the Patriarchs we have Examples of Wiſe *Shepherds* and *Husbandmen*; amongſt the Ancient *Monks*, of Wiſe *Artiſans*; and of what Profeſſion ſoever a Man is, he will never be as happy as he can be in this Life, if he acts not upon certain Principles; or if a moſt immoveable Faith doth not ſupply the defect of Reaſoning. But to ſpeak in our own way, and with Relation to thoſe who have uſed to Study amongſt us, theſe Solid Reaſonings, and theſe certain Principles are chiefly neceſſary unto thoſe who are to Conduct others; as *Clergymen*, *Magiſtrates*, and thoſe who Govern, or are concern'd in the Management of Publick Affairs. To Speak better, we ought not to reckon, that there are any *True Studies* without this Foundation: for, to know matters of Fact, and gain Experience, Uſe is ſufficient; or if Reading be joyned thereunto, there is no need of much Inſtruction. But to form the Mind, for a Man to ſee clearly what he doth, to conduct himſelf by ſure Evidence, and not by uncertain

Opinion;

Opinion; This is what ought to be ſought after, and it is this Inquiry which ought to be called *Study*.

The greateſt part of Men are more capable of this *Philoſophy* than is believed. It requires no Extraordinary Talent of Memory, Imagination, and Briskneſs of Spirit; but onely a good Common Senſe, Attention and Patience: So that there are none, but very Light Spirits, who cannot attain unto it. Even Peaſants themſelves, if they be not altogether Stupid, may be often further Inſtructed in this *Philoſophy*, than they who are more Sprightly.

To Conclude, Every one muſt be managed according to his Genious; and the *Maſter* ought not to ſpend ſo much time in the Inſtruction of thoſe whom he Teaches with Pleaſure, becauſe their Minds are open to receive what he ſays; as thereby to neglect others, becauſe they put him to more trouble. On the contrary, theſe laſt require more Care, more Affection, and more Dexterity in the Inſtructor: and 'tis a ſad thing, yet not to be remedied, that the moſt ignorant, and dulleſt Learners, have ordinarily the worſt *Maſters*.

Here, ſince I have enter'd upon the Subject, I will go on to Explain my ſelf concerning *Philoſophy*. I think that a *Maſter* ſhould endeavour to make all thoſe under his Charge *Philoſophers*; Principally ſuch, whom he ſees to have good *Natural Parts*: but he muſt not wait till he has a conſiderable number of ſuch who ſhall ſucceed therein. It is a great Undertaking to form one True *Philoſopher*, that is to ſay, one Man who Reaſons aright, who is always upon his Guard againſt

againſt all the Cauſes of Error; who, in the Conduct of his Life, follows onely Reaſon and Vertue; who ſeeks, in all things, to know the Truth, and to aſcend unto the firſt Cauſes. The greateſt part of Men, 'tis true, would be capable of this, if they did uſe their Reaſon well, and if they were not precipitant in their Judgments. But 'tis rare to find any of them, whoſe Will is ſo Regular, and Strength ſo much, as to be able to reſiſt their Paſſions. It muſt alſo be confeſt, that the greateſt part of the Profeſſions of Life, may be perform'd reaſonably well, without coming to this Perfection. One may be a good *Phyſician*, provided he knows the *Hiſtory* of *Nature*, and the moſt Aſſured Remedies approved by Experience. For though a Man ſhould know all that has been yet diſcovered in *Natural Philoſophy*, to this preſent time, he would ſcarce know the firſt Cauſes of Diſtempers any better thereby. Skill in the Law obliges a Man to go no higher, and to ſeek for no other Principles of Reaſoning, than the Laws already Eſtabliſhed among Men: The reſt belongs to the Legiſlatour. The *Roman* Lawyers, whoſe Deciſions we do with Reaſon admire, were no *Philoſophers* at all; and this *Science* was form'd at *Rome*, before they knew either *Philoſophy*, or *Grammar*. As for *War*, 'tis evident likewiſe, by the *Romans* themſelves, and moſt Nations, that there is no need of *Philoſophy*, to be a good Soldier. The *Romans* were never greater Warriours, than whilſt they continued in their Ignorance. *Mummius* and *Marius* were not leſs skilful therein, than *Pompey* and *Cæſar*; and theſe laſt, though they were more Learned, were not more *Philoſophers* than the other. As for other Profeſſions leſs conſiderable, as Merchandice,

Husbandry and Trades; Philoſophy is not at all required of them, who apply themſelves unto them; though the moſt uſeful Arts were not at firſt invented without Philoſophy. I know, that 'tis believed, that it is uſeful to Divinity; and it is indeed to be deſired, that all *Clergy-men* were true *Philoſophers*. But yet I have ſhown, that, in the firſt Ages of the Church, the *Chriſtians* made little account of *Human Philoſophy*: Nevertheleſs, it cannot be doubted, but that the Biſhops and Prieſts of that Time, did perfectly well diſcharge all their Duties. I leave it to thoſe who Labour uſefully in the Church, to judge, whether that which they have learn'd of *Philoſophy*, be of any great uſe to them, for the Conduct of Souls.

But as to the reſt, ſince a Man ſhould neither be deceived himſelf, nor deceive others; I would not give the name of Philoſopher, but to him, who ſhould really deſerve it. I would not make my Scholar ſo vain, as to believe himſelf to be a Philoſopher, becauſe he can ſay ſome diſtinctions and diviſions by Heart, though he be never the wiſer or better for them: I would not contribute any thing to the making this great name deſpicable to the unlearned. For Women, and Men of the World, judge of the ancient Philoſophers, by the moderns, and equally deſpiſe them all. Hence it is, that *Plato*, of all prophane Authors, the moſt Excellent, and moſt Delightful, is little Read, even by the Learned, and not yet Tranſlated into our Language. Hence it is, that they who read the Tranſlations, of *Xenophon*, *Epictetus*, and others, do admire that theſe Philoſophers reaſoned ſo well. 'Tis the ſame abuſe, that has

brought into diſ-eſteem the name of *Rhetorick*, *Poetry*, and the greateſt part of the Liberal Arts; and which has given falſe *Ideas* of them, which makes us practiſe them ſo ill. For 'tis natural to believe, that a thing is really that, which its name imports.

Therefore, although it is to be wiſh'd, that all Men (at leaſt they who Study) were truly Philoſophers, yet, there is ſo little reaſon to expect it; that it ſeems to me, that the greateſt part of Men, ought not to pretend to it. At leaſt, all the Philoſophy they ought to learn, ſhould be reduc'd to a good *Logick*: The reſt is not neceſſary for the attaining other Sciences. On the contrary, all the Sciences joyned to the practice of all Vertues, make up the true Philoſopher; to which, therefore we cannot arrive before the Age of Maturity (if any one be ſo happy, as ever to attain unto it.) But, it is more certain, that *Grammar*, *Rhetorick*, and whatſoever goes under the name of Humanity, are not at all neceſſary to *Philoſophy* and *Logick*. To learn how to reaſon well, there is no neceſſity of knowing *Latin*, or any other Language; it might be Taught to a *Mute*, provided there were ſigns diſtinct enough, to Explain to him the Reflections upon Thoughts. Eloquence ſuppoſes Reaſoning already formed, ſeeing it adds thereunto Motion, and Expreſſion; for it doth not (as the Ignorant believe) conſiſt in ſpeaking fine Words, but in giving Weight to good Reaſon.

Since our *Logick* conſiſts not in certain Words and Rules, wherewith the Memory is charged, that we may talk of them, or underſtand thoſe who do ſpeak of them; but in a real Exerciſe of good

good Reaſoning: It is not to be thought, that it is to be learn'd only once, as an Hiſtory, and never after to be minded. It muſt be conſtantly practiſed, during the whole courſe of Studies; and I ſpeak of it in this place, only to obſerve its Order, and to ſhew that it is of more worth, and more neceſſary than all the Studies I have mentioned; at leaſt, then thoſe which conſiſt only in the Knowledge of Matters of Fact, or things Poſitive and Conjectural.

But though Reaſoning be neceſſary, Experience and the Knowledge of particular things, is ſo likewiſe. A Man cannot be truly learned, nor eminently skilful, without this depth of Reaſoning which I have ſpoken of, but he may be skilful enough to perform the Duties of Common Life, without this Reaſoning; provided that he has a particular Knowledge of the things which are practiſed: Whereas, without this particular Knowledge, the beſt general Reaſonings, as long as they continue *General*, will never come to any thing. 'Tis theſe general Reaſonings, which have at all times diſcredited the Philoſophers and Learned Men, when to them they did not joyn the Knowledge of particular things, eſpecially, the Inſtitutions of Men: And this is the Eſſential Fault of *Raimund Lullius* his Method, which imploys its Scholars only in ſuch general Notions, as are of no uſe; and do not render them, at all, more Learned in Speculation; ſince they add nothing to what all Men know naturally, but only Names, and Arbitrary diſtinctions. I more value a *Peaſant*, who knows of what Corn the beſt Bread is made, and how this Corn is made to increaſe; than a *Philoſopher*, who reaſons only

upon Goodneſs, Perfection and Infinity, without ever Deſcending Lower. Let, therefore, your Scholar have a true and diſtinct underſtanding; let him reaſon upon general Principles, and put what he knows into a good Order. But let him be ſatisfied with a few Principles; and let him be furniſhed with ſomething to ſet in Order; I mean, with diſtinct and particular Obſervations.

VII. *That Men ought to have a care of their Bodies.*

HItherto, I have ſpoken only of thoſe Studies which tend to the perfection of the Soul, by forming the Mind and the Manners. Something alſo muſt be ſaid, of thoſe which may be uſeful to the Body; ſince, next to our Soul, there is nothing which ought to be ſo precious to us, as this other Part of our ſelves: And ſince alſo, the ſtrict Union of the one with the other, is the reaſon, why the Soul is not in a condition to act well, if the Body be not well diſpoſed. I know that this ſort of Study is not in uſe amongſt us; we are ſenſible enough, that Health, Strength, good Behaviour and Beauty, are Goods of the Body; but we are apt to ſuppoſe, that they muſt all be given by Nature. The Art of procuring them, is ſo much forgotten; that, was it not certain, that the Ancients had it, and alſo had carry'd it to as great Perfection, it might not probably be believed, that it was poſſible. This is the Art which the *Greeks* called *Gymnaſtick*; which chiefly conſiſted in the Exerciſe of the Body; and upon this account, it is Foreign to my ſubject; for I have not undertaken to treat of all that relates to the Education of Youth, but only of their Studies. I ſhall therefore leave this Treatiſe of Exerciſes to ſome Perſon, who ſhall be better vers'd

vers'd in it than I am; and I ſhall, in the mean time, only ſpeak of that Knowledge, which may be uſeful for the preſervation of Health. I will not call it by the Name of *Medicks*, becauſe we do not now undertake this long and difficult Art, which imploys Men all their Life; and which is converſant about the healing of Diſeaſes, rather than the preventing of them: Whereas, that which I here underſtand by this Study, neceſſary to all Men, is only ſome certain, plain and eaſie Precepts, for the preſerving, and increaſing Health.

I would therefore, from the firſt Infancy, have Sobriety inſtill'd, as far as this Age is capable thereof; not by making Children Faſt, for it is not yet time: But by not permitting them to Eat as much as they would, nor all that they have a mind to, nor offering any thing to them which might Tempt them, or giving them ſuch Rewards or Puniſhment which depend upon Eating. In their Preſence, Gluttons and Luxurious Perſon, ſhould be expoſed to Contempt, ſometimes by way of Raillery, ſometimes by ſerious Diſcourſe; Diſeaſes and other Miſchiefs obſerved, which proceed from the Exceſſes of the Mouth; Sobriety commended, and the good effects of it Demonſtrated: And all theſe Diſcourſes, as much as may be, ſhould be made, without ſeeming to have any deſign of inſtructing them, and without directing your Speech to them, that ſo they may be leſs upon their Guard: But, above all, great care muſt be taken, not to bely theſe Diſcourſes, by any contrary Speeches, or by any Action. In a word, to enforce them, by your Example. We ſee, by the Manners of whole Nations, how powerful the Opinion, Cuſtom,

and Impreſſions of Infancy are in this Matter. Drunkenneſs ſo frequent in the *Northern* Countries, is a Monſter in *Spain*. The *Indians* live all their Life upon *Rice*, *Pulſe*, and *Fruits*, without Eating *Fleſh* or *Fiſh*; and ſome of them are ſo Exerciſed in Faſting, that they can abſtain for Fifteen or Twenty days together, without taking any Nouriſhment. Perhaps it may be thought, that theſe things belong rather to Moral Inſtructions; but they are alſo proper means for preſerving Health: And it is not my purpoſe to enter, in particular, upon a large deſcription of the Vertues. In the mean time, ſince theſe Inſtructions are uſeful to ſeveral ends, they are doubtleſs upon that account, the more Excellent.

To be in good Health, it is convenient to be Neat and Clean, to Breath a pure Air, to Drink good Waters, to Eat ſimple and plain Meats; and though Nature ſufficiently teaches all this; yet, 'tis not amiſs to put Children in Mind of it, and cauſe them often to Reflect thereupon; for Cuſtom eaſily gets the Upper-hand. Whatever gives Strength, doth alſo very much conduce to Health; which Strength doth neceſſarily ſuppoſe. Now that which Strengthens, is not (as the Vulgar commonly believe) to Eat much, and to Drink much Wine, but proportionably to our Nouriſhment and Reſt, to joyn Labour and Exerciſe. The Exerciſes moſt in uſe with all Men, are Walking for a long time together, Standing upright for a conſiderable while, carrying Burthens, drawing at Pullies, Running, Leaping, Swiming, Riding, Exerciſing Arms, playing at Tennis, and other ſuch-like, according to the Ages,

Ages, Conditions and Profeſſions to which any one is deſigned. I ſhall leave the particulars to thoſe, who perhaps, may ſometime give us a Treatiſe of Exerciſes. I will only obſerve, that it is of great importance, for Children early to have a good Eſteem for them; together with a great Contempt of the Soft and Effeminate Life.

He ſhould be Taught, that a Man is capable of very little, if he cannot (without altering his Health) ſometimes take exceſſive pains; breaking, if need be, all the Rules of Sleep and Diet: In ſhort, that there are many Vertues, which cannot be practiſed, but with a good Body. St. *Paul* ſays, indeed, *That Bodily Exerciſe profiteth little*: But he ſays this, in compariſon with Exerciſes of Godlineſs; and in a time, when the Emulation of the *Greek Athleticks*, had carried them to an exceſſive Curioſity. For many lived under a very ſevere Diſcipline, and in very great Hardſhip, without any other end, but to make themſelves admired in the Games. St. *Paul* himſelf, elſewhere, makes uſe of this Example, to ſhew Chriſtians how earneſtly they ought to ſtrive for the incorruptible Crown. The *Chriſtians*, 'tis true, did not ingage in theſe *Gymnaſtick* Exerciſes, which would have ſpent too much of their Time; much leſs in the Combats and their publick ſhews, founded upon Idolatry; yet they did not omit to Exerciſe the Body by uſeful and hard Labours. St. *Clement* of *Alexandria*, in his *Pædagogue*, doth expreſly adviſe it; and the greateſt part of the ancient *Monks* have practiſed it. So that St. *Paul* doth not ſay that the Exerciſe of the Body is

1 Tim. iv. 8.

1 Cor. ix. 25.

Pædag. I. III. c. 10.

good for nothing; and though he thought it good for very little, in compariſan of Chriſtian Vertues, he would doubtleſs have accounted it great in Reſpect of that which we do now commonly preferr before it. For that which now a-days, makes Exerciſes ſo little valued, is, becauſe they do not conduce to the attaining unto Honour, or gaining Money; and becauſe they do not agree with Feaſting, Sleep, and Idleneſs, wherein the greateſt part of Men make their happineſs to conſiſt.

In truth, there are none among us, but they who are deſigned for the War, to whom any Exerciſes are taught Methodically: And yet, even herein, there are, in my Opinion, two conſiderable Faults. The one, that no care is taken to Form the Soldiers, who Compoſe the whole Body of the Troops: They are not taught to Manage their Arms, and perform their Exerciſes, till they be Liſted. The other Fault is, that, in the *Academies*, where Gentlemen are Exerciſed, no reckoning is made of that which is moſt eſſential; that is, to make them Healthy, and render their Bodies Robuſt. For they do not accuſtom young Men to live upon ſimple and common Meats; to ſuffer ſometimes Hunger, Heat, Cold, and the injuries of the Weather; to paſs whole Nights without Sleeping, to lie uſually Hard, to be upon Horſe-back whole Days together: In a word, to inure themſelves to all ſorts of Fatigues. In the mean time, theſe Fatigues are ordinarily of much more uſe in War, than Dancing, and the extream fineries of Fencing, and the Art of Riding. Nevertheleſs, this care that is taken to Form the Bodies of

Gentle-

Gentlemen, as indifferent as it is, is a very ſenſible Proof of the uſefulneſs of Exerciſes. Hence, doubtleſs, it comes to paſs, that Perſons of Quality, and the Officers of the Army, have ordinarily Bodies better made, Walk and Move, in all Reſpects, with a better Grace, not only than Artiſans and Citizens, but than the Men of the Robe, who have not paſs'd through theſe Exerciſes. Nay, even the meer difference of Labours has a very great effect, without any care taken in Education. *Gardiners* and Labouring-Men, have Bodies generally otherwiſe Formed and Proportioned, than *Shooe-Makers* and *Taylors*, and other Sedentary Artiſts. But to ſpeak only of thoſe, who are Educated with moſt care (though they are not deſigned for the War,) amongſt ſo many other things which they are Taught, why ſhould not the Exerciſe of the Body be one? Is it becauſe they have a Soul and no Body at all? Is it becauſe *Latin* and the *College-Philoſophy* are more neceſſary to them than Health? Let us confeſs the Truth. It is becauſe we never conſidered this Matter, we believe, that Health comes of it ſelf; that we always have enough of it, and that the moſt important buſineſs, is to get a great deal of Money, and be preferr'd to high Imployments; as if we could enjoy theſe Goods, and theſe Honours without Living, and having our Health.

When I ſpeak of having a care of Health, I do not mean thoſe Cautions of Women, Sedentary and Lazy Men, who are feeling their Pulſes every Moment; and, who by fearing Diſeaſes, are almoſt always Sick, or, at leaſt, imagin themſelves to be ſo: Who take Broaths every Morning,

ing, who cannot Faſt, nor ſuffer Hunger, nor Eat later, than at ſuch a certain Hour; who cannot Sleep, if they do not lie very ſoft, and very far from Noiſe; who never have Window Shuts, Skreens and Counter-doors enough: In a word, who are extreamly afraid of the leaſt inconveniencies. Theſe Perſons abuſe thoſe comfortable things, which were invented for the truly Sick; and for them whoſe Health is impared by long Labours, or by extream old Age. And that which ſhews their ſoftneſs, is, that they never uſe the means which I have mentioned of Labour and Abſtinence; but had rather take a Medicine, than deprive themſelves of a meals Meat. It is therefore of great Conſequence, that Children ſhould betimes apprehend the Error of theſe pretended *Valetudinarians*; for they do Educate Children the worſt of any People. They wrap and cover them to the end of the Fingers, they ſuffer them not to do any Exerciſe, leaſt they ſhould hurt, or over-heat themſelves. They regularly Purge them at certain Seaſons, and perſwade them ſo much, that they are of a weak and delicate Complexion, that the poor Children believe it all their Lives; and pretend thereby to diſtinguiſh themſelves from the common People, as well as by their Riches, and Quality. For, ſince none but the Rich, and ſuch who have Leiſure, can obſerve all theſe Niceties; they perſwade themſelves, that it appertains to none but *Peaſants* and *Porters* to have good Bodies; and pride themſelves in their weakneſs, as a mark of their Wit. Nevertheleſs, if we would take the Matter aright, a Man ought more to be aſhamed for being weak, and unhealthy, than for being Poor:

Poor: Since there are more Innocent means of acquiring Health than Riches; and theſe means are more in our Power.

Young Perſons alſo ſhould be delivered from a great many Superſtitions (which the ignorance of former Ages has introduc'd into *Medicks*) concerning the quality of ſeveral Meats, which are accounted Cold or Hot, without Reaſon, and againſt Experience; concerning many effects which are attributed, without Foundation to the *Moon* and other *Stars*. In this Rank may be reckoned a great part of the Precepts of *Schola Salernitana*. On the contrary, I would have them Taught that which has been moſt conſtantly agreed upon, by the moſt skilful *Phyſicians*, for the ordinary Regimen; the means of preſerving Health, the Remedies for the moſt common Diſeaſes; and eſpecially, all that relates to Wounds: For it is more difficult to avoid them, than great Diſeaſes; and of greater importance, to be able to cure ones ſelf of them. For all this, 'twould be uſeful to know *Anatomy* reaſonably well, beſides other great Uſe which may be made of it in *Morality*, to underſtand the Paſſions, admire the Wiſdom of God, and make us ſenſible how much we depend upon his Power. It would be well alſo to know the quality of the moſt ordinary Meats; the moſt common Plants, thoſe Remedies which are moſt eaſie to be found; and all this, according to the moſt approved Experiences. More or leſs of theſe things may be Studied according to the capacity of the Maſter, and the Leiſure and Inclination of the Scholar. It would not be amiſs to make the effects of ſome of the moſt terrible Diſeaſes, to

be

be observed, thereby to imprint upon young Men, a great horrour of Intemperance and Debauchery; and, on the other hand, to carry them sometimes into a Kitchin, or some Office, there to see all the while, how much Artifice, Labour, Time and Money, are spent in preparing the Ragou's and Sauces, which are only the Ornaments of Eating.

VIII. *Men ought not to Study meerly for Interest.*

THe foregoing Instructions, are those, wherein all Persons are concern'd, seeing there is no Man but has a Body and a Soul to take care of. The following Instructions relate to the preservation of Estates, and consequently, are not of use to those who are extreamly Poor. So that, the Advice which I shall give, is scarce Practicable, but by such Children as are Born of Parents, who are at least, indifferently accommodated. The Poorest sort of all, have neither Money nor Leisure, to lay out in the Instruction of their Children in Private; and if they will have them to Study, it is by sending them to the Publick Schools. But perhaps, before I go any farther, it will not be out of the way, to say a word of that, which should invite those who are very Poor, to Study, or diswade them therefrom.

Regularly Study, is not the means to acquire Wealth, and belongs only to those who have an honest Leisure. Good sense requires, that a Man should first begin by purveying for his Subsistance, before he satisfies his Curiosity. For they who apply themselves to Study, when they have not whereupon to live, are like those Travellers, who being Landed in a Desert Island, should amuse themselves in Contemplating the Stars,

Stars, and diſcourſing upon the Ebbing and Flowing of the Sea; in ſtead of making themſelves Cottages, and ſeeking out Proviſions. It may be ſaid to them, 'If you deſire to have the Goods 'of Fortune, as the moſt part of Men do, Why 'do you thus amuſe your ſelves? Why do you 'not take the ordinary and natural Means to 'procure them? You are born for the Country; 'continue there: Till the Lands of your Fa-'thers; or, if he has left you none, ſerve a Ma-'ſter, do Journey-work, Learn a Trade; Traf-'fick, if you have wherewithal; chuſe ſome Pro-'feſſion, whereby you may live honeſtly, and 'leave *Studies* unto thoſe who have leiſure, who 'are Rich; or elſe do not concern themſelves to 'be ſo. But, may ſome ſay, *Studies* themſelves are one of thoſe Profeſſions whereby Men gain a Livelihood; at leaſt they lead to ſeveral Profitable Profeſſions, The Church, the Court, Phyſick: and in any of theſe ways a Man may live more Comfortably than by Tilling the Earth, and Labouring at a Trade. Behold! the vain hope which makes ſo many poor Prieſts, and ſo many poor Advocates.

I do not ſay, that all who are Poor ought to be debarr'd from *Studies*, for then few, who could live at their own eaſe, would give themſelves the trouble of Teaching and bringing up Children; much leſs would they take upon themſelves the Charge of *Pariſhes*, eſpecially in the Country. I ſhould deſire therefore no more, but that the number of theſe *Poor Students* were not ſo great; that thoſe of them might be choſen who have better Abilities, and more Vertue; and the others who *Study* for baſe and ſordid ends, rejected. For

it cannot be enough Lamented to ſee, into what Extremities Young Perſons often are caſt, who raſhly Embark themſelves in *Studies*, and then find it too late to Learn a Trade, yet think any other way of Living unworthy of them. Several, not knowing what to do, betake themſelves, without any Calling, unto *Religious Societies*: or if they be afraid of being ſhut up, and becoming ſubject to a Rule, they ſeek after ſome practical Imployment, belonging either to the *Treaſury*, or (as their Genius is) they turn *Muſicians*, *Poets*, *Comedians*, *Mountebanks*, or any thing you can imagine.

Alſo *Studies* themſelves ſuffer, by being handled by Ill-bred and Selfiſh Perſons, who are either wholly Sollicitous how to get a Livelihood, or how to grow Rich. Their end is not the Knowledge of Truth, and the Perfection of Reaſon, but Intereſt: So that they force their Thoughts, to make them comply therewith. They *Study* not that which is beſt in it ſelf, but what makes the beſt Return; They endeavour not really to become more Skilful, but to be thought ſo, and to pleaſe others. In a word, with them thoſe are *Profitable Studies*, not which tend to the Publick Advantage, as the Advancement of *Arts*, and the Perfection of *Manners*, but thoſe which make the *Students* Rich. But let us return to our Subject.

Hitherto I have endeavour'd to ſpeak of thoſe *Studies*, which are of Uſe to all ſorts of perſons, to Women as well as Men, Rich and Poor. Theſe *Studies* are ſuch as reſpect *Religion*, *Manners*, and the *Conduct* of the *Mind*, for Reaſoning Juſtly, and Health. I treated of them in all the Lati-

tude

tude wherein he may Teach them, who Inſtructs a Child that is Honourably Born, Deſign'd to Great Imploys, and on whom the *Maſter* beſtows all his Care, having all the Encouragements he deſires. *Proportionably*, it may be Judged, how much of them ought to be Taught to an ordinary perſon, a Woman, or an Artiſan. Thus, to the *Poor*, the Inſtructions of a *Curate*, careful of his Duty, of a Maſter of the private Schools, or of an Intelligent Father, will ſuffice. They may alſo, for the moſt part, omit Learning either to Write or Read: for I account it much more neceſſary, that they ſhould be Inſtructed in all that I have mentioned, as far as they ſhall be capable. I now come to *Studies*, which are uſeful for Buſineſs, and conſequently are likewiſe common to all who have Eſtates, of what Sex and Condition ſoever they be: And theſe *Studies* are, *Grammar*, *Arithmetick*, *Oeconomicks*, Skill in *Law*. But I muſt explain in what Senſe I underſtand all theſe words.

IX. *Grammar.*

BY *Grammar* I onely underſtand *Reading* and *Writing*, Speaking *French* well, and *Writing* Correctly; ſo that a Man is not at a loſs, either for Choice of Words, or Conſtruction of Diſcourſe; and alſo can Write well, even the moſt Common Things; as a Letter of Buſineſs. I do not think a Child ſhould he Taught to Read before he be Six years old, unleſs he be naturally one of very happy Intellectuals. For this is a troubleſome *Study*; there is nothing of that in it, which Children ſeek after, which is Pleaſure: and there is need of a great deal of Patience, of which they have none. Let us Judge

of them by our ſelves. How difficult is it, at the Age, when Reaſon is perfect, to begin to Read *Hebrew*, or *Arabick*? We are puſh'd on by Curioſity, we deſire, with all our hearts, to Learn theſe *Languages*, and we are accuſtomed to *Study* and *Induſtry*. Nevertheleſs 'tis very ungrateful to fix our eyes a long time upon the ſame Figures, ſo often to gather together the ſame Letters, to ſupply, by Memory, what is wanting in the Writing; (as there wants ſomething in all ſorts of Languages) and, at laſt, for all the Fruit of our Labour, onely to pronounce words which we do not underſtand. And yet we take it ill, that poor Children, who ſeek after nothing but their Play, do not take all this trouble in good part; and Severely Chaſtiſe them becauſe they do not pore long enough upon their *Book*. But, after all, Why ſhould we preſs them on ſo much; eſpecially, if their manner of Living will oblige them to Write and Read all their Lives? Are we afraid that they ſhall not know how to do ſo when they are grown up? But do we ſee any of them, who, when they are Ten or Twelve years old, are without this Learning? It may be ſaid, we do not ſee any ſuch, becauſe there are none who are not obliged to Learn theſe things in their Childhood. But do we think, that Emulation, The ſhame of not being like others, and the Neceſſity of Writing and Reading in all our other *Studies*, will not alſo do very much in theſe?

In the mean time, the harſhneſs of theſe firſt *Leſſons*, makes them, for a long time, diſguſt all *Study*. We ſhould have a great deal of Patience with them, make them Read but a little at a time, and

and inſenſibly increaſe, as it becomes more eaſie to them; and, at the ſame time, Teach them *Hiſtories*, or other Things which may divert them. At firſt we make them Read in *Latin*, becauſe 'tis pronounced more as it is Written, than the *French*. But, I believe, that the Pleaſure a Child would have to underſtand what he ſhould Read, and to ſee the Fruit of his Labour, would make him go on faſter. For this Reaſon I ſhould preſently give him ſome *French Book*, which he might underſtand. It eaſily appears, that the ſame difficulties which there are in Learning to Read, are alſo to be found in *Latin*, and other *Languages*; and that they continue longer. There is alſo, by the Cuſtom of the Schools, added to them another difficulty, which is that of the Rules, and all the Art of *Grammar*. For tho' we are not accuſtomed to Learn *Latin*, but with the *Grammar*; nor the *Grammar* but in *Latin*, or upon the Foundation of the *Latin Grammar*; it is clear nevertheleſs, that theſe are two different *Studies*; ſince there is no Language which may not be Learnt by Uſe; as likewiſe there is none which has not its *Grammar*. I have ſhewed, that this Method began at the time when *Latin* was the Vulgar Language; and that the *Greek Grammar*, which is the firſt which we know, was made alſo by the *Greeks*.

Thus, to imitate theſe *Ancients*, whom we do, with ſo much Reaſon eſteem, the *Grammar* ſhould be *Studied* in our own Language, before it be *Studied* in another. Since this *Study* would conſiſt onely in cauſing the Child to make Reflexions upon a Language which he already knows; he would often take pleaſure therein:

and the Difficulties which he ſhould meet with would be leſs than they would be, when added to thoſe of Learning a Language. There would be always this advantage, that he might be made perfectly to underſtand all the Precepts by familiar Examples. But I would not load him with over many Rules, ſince the great Curioſity in *Grammar* conſumes much time, and is of no uſe.

You have perhaps labour'd a whole day, to get by heart one Exception, whereof probably you'll have no uſe three times in all your Life. I ſhould content my ſelf with the Principal Definitions, and the moſt General Rules; and ſhould propoſe no more to my ſelf, than to Speak and Read well, to obſerve a very exact Orthography in Writing; to underſtand all that I Say, and all that I Read, as far as the Knowledge of the Tongue may conduce thereunto. For this, it would ſuffice, to know the Diviſions of the Letters, the Parts of Speech, and their Subdiviſions, and other things which I cannot mention in particular, at leaſt, unleſs I ſhould make a *Grammar*. Now, that theſe Precepts ſhould not be dry, and jejune, as they are in *Books*, I would render them ſenſible and pleaſant by the way of Teaching them. When a Child ſhould have Read in his own Language, for ſome time, the things which he underſtood, and wherein, if poſſible, he ſhould take pleaſure; One would begin to make him obſerve, that all that Writing conſiſted onely in Two and twenty Letters, and that all the Large Diſcourſes are Compoſed onely of Nine ſorts of Words; that there are two kinds of *Articles*; that there are Genders in Nouns; Tenſes and Per-

Perſons in Verbs; Numbers both in the one and the other; and thus of the reſt. As ſoon as he ſhall know how to Write a little, you might cauſe him to digeſt thoſe *Hiſtories* which have been recited unto him; and here the mean and improper Words, the bad Conſtructions, and the faults of Orthography ſhould be Corrected. He might be told the Rules of Etymologies, and Taught many of them occaſionally. They ſerve very much for the Underſtanding the meaning of Words, and Orthography, and are diverting. Thus by a few Precepts, and a great deal of Exerciſe, he might Learn in two or three years as much *Grammar* as a *Gentleman* need to have for the Uſe of Life; and more than ordinarily they know, who have been Eight or Ten years in the College.

The greateſt part might ſtop here, and Learn no other Language at all. Sword-men, Practicioners, Accountants, Merchants, and all below theſe; as alſo the greateſt part of Women may let *Latin* alone: Experience ſhews this. But, if they knew as much *Grammar*, as I have ſaid, it would be very eaſie for them to uſe good *French Books*, and the Tranſlations of the *Ancients*; and perhaps, at laſt, they might be diſabuſed, and not imagin, That that Perſon muſt be a Fool who does not underſtand *Latin*. 'Tis true, *Latin* is neceſſary for Clergy-men, and Men of the Robe, and that it is very uſeful for Souldiers, tho' it was onely for their Travels; and, amongſt Women, to the Religious, for underſtanding the Office which they Read. But I believe, it would be much more eaſie to Learn, if it was not Embaraſſed with ſo many Rules of *Grammar*. Not

that I believe, it ſhould be Taught by uſe alone; though there have been ſome examples of it, even in our time; but the Method of doing this is not ſufficiently eſtabliſhed, to propoſe it to the World. Add to this, that whatever habit of Speaking Children might have, I ſhould ſcarce believe that it would continue conſtant, in a Language, which is not continually uſed, without the help of Rules. 'Tis true, we have an Example in the *Jews*, who Teach their Children *Hebrew*, without any Rule, and make them very knowing therein; but this is with a very long time. Let us therefore rather make uſe of Rules, provided that they do aſſiſt, and not over-burthen Children.

Now, if they know them in their own Language, the reſt will be very eaſie. It will be onely making them obſerve what is different in the *Latin* Language. The want of Articles, the Declenſion of Nouns, the Paſſive in Verbs, the Liberty of placing the Words differently, and the like. This, for the moſt part, onely would be Exceptions from the General Rules which they had learnt.

To Conclude, They ſhould be continually exerciſed in *Reading* ſome *Author*, which they underſtood with Pleaſure (if it might be;) and they ſhould be Taught the Rules, much rather by uſe, than the ſtrength of Memory; though it ſhould not be forgotten alſo to cauſe them to get things by heart. That which will beſt Imprint them upon their Minds, will be Compoſing; but yet it muſt not be begun ſo ſoon, nor continued ſo long as Reading, which ought to be their Chief Exerciſe, and continue, during the whole courſe of their *Studies*. For there is this Advantage in

Grammar,

Grammar, and the *Study* of Languages; that, being as Inſtruments, he who has once Learnt them will confirm himſelf therein, proportionably as he ſhall uſe them: Becauſe the Books wherein he Learns things, are Compounded of the words of a certain Language put together, and placed according to *Grammar*.

X. *Arithmetick.*

Arithmetick comes afterwards; and I think it ſhould be begun later; that is, when Reaſon is already formed; as at Ten, or Twelve years. At firſt the *Scholar* ſhould be Taught the Practice of the Four Great Rules; he muſt be exerciſed in Caſting Account, either with Counters, or with the Pen; to make uſe of all ſorts of Cyphers; to reduce the moſt uſual Weights and Meaſures. Afterwards he may go on to the Rules which are more difficult, and be ſhown the Reaſons of all; and the Knowledge of Proportions may be Taught him, as his Leiſure and Genius ſhall ſerve.

XI. *Oeconomicks.*

IT will be thought ſtrange, doubtleſs, that I reckon *Oeconomicks* amongſt *Studies*, and amongſt the moſt neceſſary too: but hear what I would ſay for my ſelf. The Deſign of young Perſons *Studies* ſhould be, to acquire, in the firſt Age that Knowledge, which muſt be ſerviceable to them all the reſt of their Lives; or at leaſt, the Principles of this Knowledge, as I think I have already ſhewn. Therefore, that which is neceſſary to the moſt common and ordinary Affairs, that which reſpects the Maintenance of Life, and the Foundation of *Civil Society*; This Knowledge ſurely ought to have the firſt place next after

that which refers to Man in himſelf, and directly conduces to the perfecting the Soul or the Body. So that it is principally the Scholars ignorance of theſe kinds of things, which makes ſeveral deſpiſe both them and their *Studies*. What are the thoughts of the Eldeſt Son of a Family, who comes from the *College*? to divert himſelf, to boaſt of his Knowledge, and if he be pleas'd with Study, to follow his Curioſity: He never concerns himſelf how he ſubſiſts; whence comes that which nouriſhes and cloaths him, and the like. He only conſiders how other young Perſons of the ſame quality live, and would, by no means, be leſs accounted of, nor want Money to Game, or ſatisfie his Paſſions. In the mean time he fills his head with *Comedies*, *Romances*, *Muſick*; or, if he wants Wit, he confines himſelf to more groſs pleaſures. Some great Change in his Fortune muſt happen, the Death of a Father, ſome Great Eſtate fall which he muſt take poſſeſſion of, ſome great Law-ſuit, a Marriage, or an Office to make him open his eyes, and ſee that there is any ſuch thing as buſineſs in the World; and that he has ſomething to take care of as well as other Men. I know that in all this, there is a great deal that is natural to Youth, which is hurry'd on to Pleaſure by violent Paſſions; and has not experience enough to have any eſteem for things that are uſeful. But this is the Reaſon alſo why Youth ought to be aſſiſted and reſtrain'd, in ſtead of which it ſeems, as if Men had a deſign to encourage their Faults. Young Perſons, 'tis true, will never love Labour and Buſineſs. Yet it ought, at leaſt, to be endeavour'd, by preparing them early for them, that they may not appear ſo harſh

and

and burthenſome when they ſhall come to the Age, when they muſt apply themſelves unto them for good and all. Upon this account, amongſt *Studies* neceſſary to all, who have any thing to Manage and Preſerve, I reckon *Oeconomicks*, and Skill in the Law: and obſerve wherein I make *Oeconomicks* to conſiſt.

Seeing the firſt Objects which make impreſſions upon Children, are thoſe within the Houſe, as its divers Parts, the Servants, and their different Offices, the Moveables, and Working Inſtruments. There is nothing to be done but to follow the humour of their Natural Curioſity, to Teach them with pleaſure the uſe of all theſe things, and make them underſtand, as far as they are capable, the Solid Reaſons, which put Men upon inventing them, by letting them ſee the Inconveniencies which they remove. Thus alſo they would be accuſtomed to admire the Goodneſs of God in all things which he Furniſhes us with for our Wants; the Induſtry which he has given unto Men to make uſe of them; the Happineſs of being Born in a Country that is Cultivated, and in a Well-inſtructed and Polite Nation: to take Noble *Ideas* of all things, which an ill Education, and the Vanity of our Manners make us deſpiſe; and not ſo much to diſdain a Kitchin, the Back-yard, the Market-place, as the moſt part of Perſons Gentilely bred do.

To Conclude, Thus they would be accuſtomed to make Reflexions upon all that preſents its ſelf to them, which is the Principle of all *Studies*. For Men mightily deceive themſelves, when they imagin, that they muſt ſeek a great way off for that wherewith Children are to be Inſtructed.

They are not to live, either in the Air, or amongſt the Stars, much leſs in the Imaginary Spaces, in the Country of the *entia Rationis*, or Second Intentions; but they muſt live on the Earth, in this Low World, ſuch as it now is, and in this Corrupted Age of it.

They ought therefore to know the Earth which they Inhabit, the Bread which they Eat, the Animals which are Uſeful to them; and, above all, the Men with whom they are to Live and to Act. And let them not, in the leaſt, imagin that, to conſider all the things which are about them, is to debaſe themſelves.

In a great Family there will be more occaſion for theſe Inſtructions than in a leſs; and there will be yet more, if Children be ſometimes in the City, and ſometimes in the Countrey. Thus the Children of Perſons of Quality, who may have all theſe Advantages, ought to know more things than others. As they grow in Age, more may be told them concerning theſe things; and, in ſome ſort they might be indifferently well inſtructed in thoſe Arts, which reſpect the Convenience of Life, by letting them ſee Men work at them; and by explaining to them every thing carefully. They ſhould then be ſhewn, either in the Houſe, or elſewhere, how Bread, and Cloth, and Stuffs are made. They ſhould ſee *Taylors*, *Tapiſtry-makers*, *Joyners*, *Carpenters*, *Maſons*, and all who are concern'd in the Building-trade, Work in their particular Callings. They ſhould alſo be, ſome-ways, ſo far Inſtructed in theſe Arts, as to underſtand the Language of the Workmen, and that they may not be eaſily impos'd upon. Now this *Study* will, all this while,

while, be a great Divertiſement for them: And ſeeing Children deſire to imitate every thing, they will be ſure to play over all theſe Arts. And herein they ſhould not be roughly Oppoſed, or Laughed at, but gently aſſiſted, by ſhewing them what will be *Chymerical* in their deſigns, and what *Feaſible*. This might be an occaſion of Teaching them a great deal of *Mechanicks*; and they would have the Pleaſure of Succeeding in ſome things, which in this Age, is very great. It would alſo be well to acquaint them with the common Price of the Works which they may have occaſion for, and the things which they may Buy themſelves, and even thoſe which they may order others to Buy. For, though theſe Prices often change, yet, they who have known them once, will not be ſo much to ſeek; eſpecially, if they be once well told, why ſome Commodities are ſo dear in reſpect of others; and the moſt ordinary Cauſes of the Change of Price. I ſhould alſo deſire that a young Man be ſoon inſtructed, either by Experience, or an exact Relation, in all that is neceſſary for Travel. This is the Study which I call *Æconomicks*. It eaſily appears, that I do not pretend to make it a Study in Form, or that it ſhould be learn'd by Books. It might be learn'd by Converſation and Practice; and would be, not ſo much the Office of a Maſter, as the care of a good Father, or an affectionate Tutor. Other Studies would aſſiſt it, and it would help them. To Exerciſe the Rules of *Arithmetick*, the young Perſon might make up the Accounts, and keep a Regiſter of Receipts and Expences, which is ſo neceſſary a Practice to every Man, who has any thing to take

Eccl. xl. 11. 7.

take care of, that it is recommended in *Scripture* it ſelf. In Human Authors, as *Cicero* and *Virgil*, it may be obſerved to them, how much the *Romans* did then eſteem *Husbandry*, and a diligent application to their *Domeſtick* Affairs. This might be ſeen more in thoſe Authors which treat of Country Buſineſſes; as *Cato* and *Columella*, and in ſome Books of the Law. The young *Romans* muſt needs have been very ſoon fit to Act, and manage their Affairs, ſince at Fourteen Years they were out of Tuition; were accounted grown Men at Eighteen, and took their Place, and argued freely before the Magiſtrates. As for the *Greeks*, the *Æconomicks* of *Xenophon*, *Ariſtophanes*, *Theocritus*, *Heſiod* and *Homer*, do ſhew, that they buſied themſelves very much within their Houſes, in Management, and all kind of Husbandry; and that the Richeſt and moſt Civilized Perſons, did then make that their buſineſs and delight, which at this day is looked upon as the Lot of the miſerable. The Authority of theſe great Names, and the Conſent of ſuch Excellent Writings, might give Noble Ideas of all, even the moſt common things of Life. This alſo might make the Scholar much more capable of profiting, even by the *Holy Scriptures*; ſeeing that all which is accounted ſo mean and dull, came from the ſimple and ſolid Manners of that wiſe Antiquity, when no Perſon diſdain'd to Labour, more than he did to Eat: And this, I think, I have ſhewn in the Manners of the *Iſraelites*. But whether the Scholar ſhall read theſe Authors, or the Maſter relate to him what they ſay; I would have him careful to make all things very ſenſible, and refer

ſer all to our own Country Uſage and Cuſtom. Let us leave it to the *Grammarians* by Profeſſion, curiouſly to inquire after all the Plants which *Virgil* names, and the Deſcription of all the Inſtruments of *Agriculture* which *Heſiod* mentions. Let us only take occaſion from what they ſay, to make our Scholar underſtand that which at preſent is done in our Country, and let us not be diſcouraged, if they uſe ſome word which we may not underſtand, provided that we know our way of Management, as well as they did theirs.

XII. *Civil Law or Jurisprudence.*

AS for the Law, ſince it depends leſs upon the imagination, and has more Reaſoning in it, we ſhould wait till the Mind be more accuſtomed to attend, and the Judgment be form'd; that is, till Thirteen or Fourteen Years, and till our Scholar be towards the end of his Studies. Nevertheleſs, it is much more eaſie to make this ſenſible and agreeable, than it is *Philoſophy*, which is the ordinary Study at this Age; eſpecially, after this Foundation of *Æconomicks*, of which I have ſpoken, it would be a great deal more eaſie.

You may ſuppoſe, that, by skill in the Law, I do not here underſtand that long and difficult Study, which makes *Lawyers* by Profeſſion, and which contains the Knowledge, not only of all the Laws that are uſed in a Country, upon any ſubject whatſoever, but of all that alſo, which ſerves to explain and apply them to particular Matters. I only ſpeak here of thoſe Studies which are neceſſary to all Men of ingenuous Birth. Thus, as to Law, I only underſtand that which

which every private Perſon is obliged to know of it, in order to keep what he has, and to do nothing againſt the Laws. Every one is thus far obliged by the Laws themſelves, which preſume that all Citizens are inſtructed therein, ſince they impute the Ignorance of them as a Fault, and Puniſh it, either by the loſs of Goods, if they have failed to obſerve the Laws, in getting or preſerving them, or by more ſevere Puniſhments; if this Ignorance has betray'd them to ſome Crime. Nevertheleſs, no care is taken to inſtruct young Perſons in them, except thoſe, who are deſigned for the Gown; and queſtionleſs, it will be thought ſtrange, that I deſire this ſhould be done.

But to examine things without Prejudice, this Study is as uſeful, at leaſt, as *Philoſophy*, which they are Taught; and is not more difficult. But *Philoſophy*, it may be ſaid, Exerciſes the Minds of young Perſons, and makes them ſubtle. So will alſo the ſubtleties of Law, by which the Principal points will be better underſtood: But 'tis feared, that they would be tired, ſhould they be told of the *Uſus fructus*, and Propriety; of the difference betwixt the right of Heir-ſhip, and Bodies Hereditary, betwixt the parts Individible, and the parts Diviſed, although ſolid effects of all theſe diſtinctions may be ſhown to them. Is it not to be feared likewiſe, leaſt the Univerſals, the Categories, the Infinite in Act, and in Power, and the *Entia rationis*, ſhould put them out of Humour? In ſhort, the knowledge of Right, whether pleaſant or not, is neceſſary to all, who live under the ſame Laws.

This

This Study would be very eaſie, if we had certain and fix'd Laws, as the *Romans* had thoſe of the Twelve Tables; the *Athenians* thoſe of *Solon*; the *Hebrews* thoſe of *Moſes*, or rather of *God*. A Man ſhould need only to read theſe Laws to know his Duty. But it is not thus, a great deal of Experience is required to diſtinguiſh, in the large Volumes of the Edicts of our Kings, thoſe which are obſerved, from thoſe which are not. Cuſtoms ſpeak not but of certain Matters. We follow a great many Rules of the *Roman* Law; the greateſt part of which, nevertheleſs, is not received; at leaſt, not into the number of our Cuſtoms. Our Law therefore, being ſo mixed, and ſo uncertain, there is great need of Study, to underſtand it: I mean, to have ſuch an indifferent knowledge of it, as is to be ſuppoſed in private Perſons. For to know it exactly, it is the Study of a Man's whole Life.

Now this indifferent Knowledge thereof, neceſſary to all, I make to conſiſt in theſe things. Firſt, in underſtanding the Terms, ordinarily uſed in ſpeaking of Buſineſs, and which we meet with, in the Ordinances, Cuſtoms, and other Law Books; as *fief*, *Cenſive*, *propres*, *acqueſt*, *déguerpir*, *garantir*, and all the reſt, which are not commonly uſed in the ordinary way of Speaking. Children may learn all theſe words betimes, eſpecially, if care be taken to make them underſtand the ſenſe, by ſenſible Examples; and the ſooner they ſhall have learn'd them, the leſs Barbarous they will appear afterwards. It will be much more worth their while, to charge their Memory with them, than with Names, Figures of *Rhetorick*, and the Terms of *Philoſophy*. After this

Fee, quit-rent, inheritance, purchaſe, to quit, to warrant.

this Knowledge of their way of Speaking, which implies a great many Definitions; I would have the Scholar learn the moſt general Maxims of the Law, which relate to particular Subjects; as of Tutelage, Succeſſions, Marriages, the moſt uſual Contracts, without entring into the Subtleties of the Law, or much affecting the Method; but only obſerving therein a little Order, for clearing up the Underſtanding, and aſſiſting the Memory. In the next place, the manner of Proſecuting ones Right in the Courts of Judicature, ſhould be Treated of; and, without Deſcending to all the particulars of the Proceſs, the order of it in general, ſhould be obſerved, and the neceſſity there is, of exactly obſerving in Judicial Proceedings, the Forms Eſtabliſhed. The difficulty will be for the Maſter to chuſe out of Books, that Knowledge which is neceſſary; and is ſo diſperſed, and blended in them. For it muſt be confeſs'd, that, as yet, we have no Book, where all that which I have ſpoken of is put together, and ſeparated from the reſt. Till ſome Perſon ſhall undertake this. *Juſtinian*'s Inſtitutes, the cuſtomary Inſtitution of *Loiſel*, that of *Coquil*, and the *Index* of *Ragueau*, and other ſuch-like Books may be made uſe of. Moreover, it would be well to Read to the Scholar, the whole Cuſtom of his Country, and ſhew him ſome of the moſt common Contracts, that he may underſtand the Principal clauſes of them.

But ſome will ſay, have we not wrangling *Pettifoggers* enough in *France*, without deſiring that all Men ſhould be ſo? Behold! The ordinary Language of ignorant Perſons, to call thoſe Wranglers who underſtand Buſineſs, and ſpeak of it

it in proper Terms. On the contrary, one of the greateſt Cauſes of Litigious Pleadings, is this ignorance of Law. Hence it is, that Men make diſadvantageous Agreements; which afterwards they will not perform; that ſo many Revocations, and Reſtitutions are required againſt *Surprizes*; that they raſhly undertake a Proceſs, the Conſequences whereof they do not foreſee; that having Equity at the bottom, they commit it to the management of a Sollicitor, who ſpoils a good Cauſe, by his ill Proceeding. So that if any knowledge of Buſineſs produces Wrangling, 'tis that confuſed and uncertain knowledge of ſome little part of Practice, without Order, and without the Knowledge of Principles. Whence it is, that the greateſt *Pettifoggers* are always the meaneſt ſort of Practitioners. Now Men muſt needs have theſe obſcure and imperfect Notions, when they are only inſtructed by uſe. Beſides that, this is a very ſlow Maſter, and ſcarce ever informs, but by the Faults which are committed. Further, after a long time, you will hereby know only ſome certain particular Matters, and which indeed you may know, even too particularly, and, at the ſame time, be intirely ignorant of all the reſt. To me therefore it ſeems, that it would be better, not altogether to depend upon Experience, but to be firſt prepared for it, by ſome general Knowledge. For though it be true, that many are ſufficiently vers'd in buſineſs, by uſe alone; it ought to be confeſs'd, nevertheleſs, that they would be ſtill better, and more eaſily inſtructed, if they joyned ſome Study thereunto. And ſeeing there is a certain Age, wherein we deſire that young Perſons ſhould

Study,

Study, though it were only to imploy them; why ſhould we not rather buſie them, in that which may be ſerviceable to them afterwards; than in that which is only for the School, that is, for nothing? For the School is not of uſe, but ſo far as it fits us for the remaining part of Life. Now in this Matter, there is no need to fear, leaſt they ſhould learn a little more Law, than may be abſolutely neceſſary for them. It is difficult, exactly to meaſure this *Neceſſary*; and they will retain (we may be ſure) no more than the ſum of that which they learn.

This Study, which of it ſelf, is a little dull, may be made more delightſome, by the Knowledge of many Matters of Fact; which giving to the Scholar a little Experience before his time, would render both the Maxims and the Reaſonings of Law, more ſenſible. I would then, that the young Man be often told, what are the different Conditions of Men of the ſame Country, what their Imployments, and what it is by which they ſubſiſt: That he knew how a Peaſant, an Artificer, a Citizen lives, what a Judge is, or any other Man of the Robe; I ſay, that which they are, and not that which they ought to be; what was their Birth, how they came to Offices, how they live: That he be acquainted how the Soldiers and the Officers of the Army ſubſiſt; and alſo that he be inform'd concerning *Clergymen*, and the Religious: In a word, concerning all Men, with whom he muſt live. The different nature alſo of Men's poſſeſſions ſhould be deſcrib'd unto him from the leaſt Farm, to the greateſt Lordſhip; and how the Rents of them are made. What is Trade and the Bank, and how

how Men grow Rich thereby. The different natures of Rents; to conclude, the different ways of Living and Subſiſting, according to the difference of Countries. And ſeeing they cannot Learn all this, but by Converſation, young Perſons ought to be taught to profit, by diſcourſing with all ſorts of Perſons, even with Peaſants and Servants. The way is, to make each of them ſpeak of his own Trade, and of things which he knows. Both of them would gain by this mutual Converſation. He that ſpeaks, has the pleaſure to Inſtruct, and to make himſelf heard; he who hears, has the pleaſure to underſtand ſomething new, and the profit will thereby abide with him.

The Reading alſo of the Ancients, will help him to underſtand theſe ſame Matters of Fact; as I have obſerved for *Oeconomicks*. The Orations and Epiſtles of *Cicero*, are full of wonderful variety of Affairs; which the Scholar may be brought to obſerve, as he ſhall have occaſion. If he is to live a private Life, particular buſineſs ſhould be chiefly explained unto him; if he is deſign'd by his Birth, to great Imploys, he ſhould be more kept to publick Matters. *Titus Livius*, and other Hiſtorians, will alſo teach him a great deal concerning them. Thus, the ſame Leſſon might ſerve for ſeveral uſes; for *Grammar*, for *Rhetorick*, for *Hiſtory*, for *Morality*, for *Oeconomicks*, for *Law*. Sometimes one kind of Reflections ſhould be made, ſometimes another, as occaſion ſhall ſerve; and it would be hard, if none of them ſhould take effect. But, in all theſe Obſervations, Curioſity which continually Tempts, ſhould be avoided, unleſs it be uſed as a Ragouſt to Excite the

Appetite of Knowing. For otherwiſe, it will be no great harm, not to underſtand ſome word in *Plautus*, or *Varro*, which denotes ſome Office of a Slave; to be ignorant of ſome formality of their publick Aſſemblies; provided, that it be remembred, that the *Romans* well underſtood their buſineſs, both private and publick, and that they were very diligent in it; and that all thoſe great Men, whom we admire in their Hiſtory, did not make themſelves great (each of them according to his genius) but by this application. Thus this Study of Law, would not only make young Men capable of buſineſs, but contribute more than any other, to the rendring their Minds ſolid, and Forming their Judgments: Since it would conſiſt only in making them know the Truth of thoſe things, which are the moſt fit for Men to know.

Now, in my Opinion, this Solidity, and this Rectitude of judgment, is that which ſhould chiefly be ſought in Studies. There is but too much of the Sparkiſh humour in the World; but there never will be enough of good ſenſe. Why ſhould this Glittering Fiery Spirit be ſo much recommended to Scholars, which cannot be given to thoſe, who have it not naturally; and which uſually, doth more harm than good, to thoſe who have it? Let us improve in good Senſe and Judgment. All who are not Born Stupid, may arrive to this Rectitude of Mind, provided, that they be accuſtomed to apply themſelves to it, and not to Precipitate their Judgments: And 'tis only by this, that Men ſucceed in Buſineſs, and in the whole Conduct of their Lives. The knowledge of Buſineſs, alſo, would contribute to the reclaim-

reclaiming young Men from vain Fooleries; and to the making them ſerious: For we become ſuch, as our Thoughts are, with which we are taken up. This will accuſtom them to be diligent, to be careful, to love Rule and Juſtice, which a Man muſt needs love, if he knows it, before it comes to be his intereſt to oppoſe it. Now young Perſons are not as yet ſenſible of intereſt; Avarice is the leaſt of their Vices.

And to make them diligent and careful, it would be very deſireable, that the Practick might be joyn'd to the Inſtructions; That the Father ſhould enter his Son into the Counſels appertaining to his Houſhold Affairs; that he would make him Diſcourſe of whatever occurs; That he would commit to his Care ſome of the Leſs difficult of them; That he would put ſome part of his Eſtate into his Management, whereof he ſhould give an account. Nothing would be more advantageous, than for a Perſon of a great Eſtate, to be thus Educated; to be ſo capable of Buſineſs, that he ſhould have no Intendants, Agents and Sollicitors, but only to eaſe him, and might not altogether rely upon them; that he ſhould himſelf Manage all Affairs in chief, leaving to his Servants, only the Execution of them in particular: In a word, that he ſhould govern thoſe under him, and not, as it too often happens, be governed by them. For, is it not evident, that the abſolute Dependance wherein Stewards and Bayliffs hold their Maſters, and that careleſsneſs which ruins ſo many Families, proceeds from the ignorance of Perſons of Quality, and their ill Education? I know very well that they cannot be excuſed from a great deal of Idle-

neſs, and Love of Pleaſure: But it happens ſometimes, that they take a diſtaſte againſt Pleaſure, and do ſhake off Idleneſs: Whereas when they are paſt a certain Age, there is no more time for Inſtruction. At firſt they entertain an averſion for buſineſs, becauſe they do not underſtand the Terms, and have no Knowledge of the Maxims. They flatter themſelves, that good ſenſe is ſufficient for the ordering their concerns; and every one thinks he is well enough provided therewith. But they do not conſider, that Law is mixed with an abundance of Matters of Fact and Rules, Eſtabliſhed by Men, which it is impoſſible to Divine: And when they come to ſee the neceſſity of being inſtructed, they are aſhamed to confeſs their ignorance. Laſtly, the long habit of applying themſelves to nothing, and not being confined, makes them often over-look their moſt important Intereſts. This is what I underſtand by the Names of *Grammar*, *Arithmetick*, *Oeconomicks* and skill in *Law*; and theſe are the Studies which I account moſt neceſſary.

XIII. *Policy.* THey, who by their Birth, are deſigned for great Imployments, have need of ſome Inſtructions, more extenſive than meer private Perſons require. Their skill in *Law* ſhould comprehend the publick Right. Their *Morality* ſhould extend to *Policy*. For, as for Common People, theſe Studies can only be reckoned amongſt the number of Curioſities. It is hard to hinder Men from talking; but it is alſo difficult for Princes and Miniſters of State to keep from Laughing, when they ſee Citizens and Artiſans Diſpute about the Intereſts of *Potentates*, and preſcribe to them Rules for their Government. But as for Children, who it may

may be reaſonably foreſeen, will one day come to be preferr'd to high Places, it is of conſequence, early to inſtill into them Right Maxims, leaſt they ſhould imbibe falſe, or act only at a venture. I would then have them know, in the firſt place, the State of the preſent Government of their Country; the different parts of which this Body is Compounded, the Names and Functions of the Officers which Govern it: The manner of rendering Juſtice, of Adminiſtring the Revenues, of Exerciſing the Policy thereof, and the like; as alſo the Way of conſulting about Publick Affairs. I would have every one begin with the State of his own Country, as being moſt neceſſary, and moſt eaſie to know; and that, in the next place, he ſhould conſider the Condition of thoſe Foreign Countries which are neareſt, and to which he has moſt Relation. By ſhewing him how things are really and in truth: I would ſhew him how they ought to be; not, as yet, according to the Opinions of the Philoſophers, and pure Reaſoning; but, according to the Laws of the State it ſelf, and its ancient Cuſtoms. This is that which I call Publick Right. The Rules according to which each State is Governed: The Rights of the Soveraign, and the Officers he makes uſe of: The Rights of States, and Soveraigns, in Reſpect of one another. This Study is more poſitive than Reaſoning, and it contains much more Hiſtory which may make it pleaſant.

Policy conſiſts more in Reaſoning, and ſhould Aſcend as high as to ſearch after Principles. It conſiders not only how *France* and *Germany* ought to be Governed, according to the particular Form of their Conſtitution, and the Laws which are

there Eſtabliſhed: But it inquires in general, what is Civil Society, what Form of Conſtitution is the beſt, what are the beſt Laws, and the beſt means to preſerve Quiet and Concord amongſt Men. Theſe general conſiderations, are very uſeful to give unto the Mind, *Elevation* and *Extention*, provided, that Application of them be made to particular Examples, not thoſe of *Athens* or *Lacedæmon*, but of the Moderns, which affect us more, and inſtruct us better. The Advice which to me ſeems of greateſt Importance in this Matter, is, That a young Prince, or other Child of more Inferiour Rank, be early ſhewn the difference betwixt true and falſe Policy; that he be Taught to abhor that, which only propoſes to make the Prince, or the Body of Men which Governs, Powerful, at the Expence of all the reſt of the People; which makes the Vertue of the Soveraign to conſiſt, in maintaining, and increaſing his Grandeur, leaving Juſtice, Faith, and Humanity to private Perſons. That he be inſtructed, not much to relie upon the Artifices, by which his Neighbours may be weakened, in ſtirring up Enemies againſt them, or Exciting Diviſions amongſt them; nor the skill how to deceive his Subjects in making them believe the State to be ſtronger than it is. For the avoiding all theſe Evils, the greateſt part of modern Politicians ſhould be laid aſide; eſpecially, *Machiavel*, and the *Engliſh Hobs*. Let us return to *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*, whoſe Politicks are founded upon the ſolid Principles of Morality and Vertue. Their end is, not to Exalt one Man, or any number of Men, above others, but to make Men live as happily,

as

as 'tis poſſible, in Society; to procure to all private Perſons ſafety, the peaceable poſſeſſion of their Goods, Health of Body, Liberty of Mind, Rectitude of Heart, and Juſtice. To confer all theſe benefits upon a whole Society, theſe Philoſophers believed it was juſt, that ſome ſhould be at the pains of watching continually over it; that they might make proviſion for all its neceſſities, defend it from outward Attacks, and preſerve Peace within. Theſe, if I miſtake not, are the Principles of true Policy.

But to ſee it in its Purity, we muſt go higher than *Plato* and *Ariſtotle*: It muſt be Learn'd from *Moſes*, *David*, *Solomon*, the Prophets, and the Apoſtles; or rather *God* himſelf, whoſe Interpreters they were. They will tell us, that all Men are Brethren; That the firſt States were only great Families; that every one ought to love the Country where he was Born, and the Society in which *God* had plac'd him: That it is juſt, that one Man ſhould give his Life for the publick Safety; and that it is *God* alone, who hath appointed ſome Men to govern others: That the Perſon of the Prince is Sacred: That he is plac'd over the People to Defend them, and to render Juſtice unto them: That he cannot perform his Duty, if *God* do not give him Wiſdom: And a great many ſuch like Maxims; whereof a whole Body of Policy, taken from the *Holy Scripture*, might be Compoſed. Perhaps I have ſaid but too much upon a Subject, which few Scholars have need of, and few Maſters are capable to Teach.

XIV. *Languages, Latin, &c.*

BEſides, the Studies neceſſary to Men ingenuouſly Bred, there are others which are profitable for them; but yet, ſuch as may be altogether omitted. Firſt of all, *Latin*; for I have not at all ſuppoſed, that the Studies I have hitherto ſpoken of, ſhould depend thereon; and what I have ſaid of the helps which may be drawn from ancient Authors, for *Oeconomicks*, and skill in *Law*, ought to be underſtood, in Reſpect of thoſe only, who, over and beſides, ſhall have learn'd *Latin*, or *Greek*, or elſe ſhall Read the *Tranſlations*.

But though *Latin* be not neceſſary, yet it is very uſeful for Religion, for Buſineſs, and for Studies. Since the *Roman* Church has not thought it convenient to change the Language of her Prayers and her Offices, no more than the *Greek*, and other Oriental Churches, it is to be wiſh'd that all Chriſtians underſtood this Language; and that all, who have the convenience of Learning it, ſhould not neglect it. Add to this, the ſatisfaction there muſt needs be, in being able to Read the Writing of ſo many *Latin* Fathers, and of underſtanding that verſion of *Scripture*, the uſe of which is Authorized by the Church. For Buſineſs, the greateſt part of the Terms, which are uſed in ſpeaking about it, are *Latin*, and drawn from the *Roman* Law; of which it is impoſſible to talk well, in another Language, as may appear by the Law Books of the Modern *Greeks*. Laſtly, for all Studies, Men are ſo accuſtomed to uſe this Language, that it is become the common Language of Learned Men, over all *Europe*; that the greateſt part of Modern Authors

thors have uſed it; and that it is beneficial for the underſtanding all the *Ancients*.

I have ſpoken of the way of Learning it; and have Adviſed, That more regard be had to Uſe, than Precepts. I ſhall here add, That the Genius of every Language ought carefully to be obſerv'd to the *Scholar*; and that he ſhould be accuſtomed never to Render *Latin* but by good *French*; nor *French* but by good *Latin*. It ought to be demonſtrated to him, that one word cannot always be render'd by another of the ſame Species; as a Verb for a Verb; a Noun for a Noun; nor always one Word by one Word; becauſe one *Latin* word often expreſſes a whole Phraſe of the other. Men have many more Thoughts then they have invented different Sounds, wherewithal to expreſs them: So that there is no Language, where we ſhall not fall ſhort in ſome places. It is not therefore to Tranſlate exactly, only to turn the words, if the Conſtruction of the Language, whence we Tranſlate them be Barbarous. 'Tis true, this way of Tranſlating is more ſure, as to the fidelity of it, and it gives the *Reader* the Pleaſure of ſeeing, in the Tranſlation, the Genius of the *Original Language*. Such is the Famous Verſion of the 70 Interpreters. It repreſents the Original, word for word, and always renders the ſame *Hebrew* words, by the ſame *Greek* words. There can be no Tranſlation done with more exactneſs, and Religious care. The Reſpect for the Holy Text made them fearful to alter the Senſe thereof by the leaſt change. But ordinarily to Tranſlate well, the ſame thought, and (as much as may be) the ſame Figure, and the ſame Strength of Expreſſion, ſhould be render'd accor-

according to the natural Mode of another Language: and when the Scholar misses this, he should be brought to see the Fault of his Translation. For example, Complaining of an Ungrateful Person, would you say, *I have received little thanks for my favour to him*? You should rather say, *He hath ill requited the Obligation which he had to me.* The *Latin* has this particular, in respect of us, that, seeing our Language is derived from it, we believe that the words signifie the same that they do from whence they proceed, though often it is not so. *Table* comes from *Tabula*, which signifies a *Planck*: *Chamber* from *Camera*, which signifies a Roof: *fortis* signifies *valiant*: and *Valens*, *Strong*.

He should also be shewn, That 'tis an Error to think, that the *Latin*, or any Dead *Language* can be perfectly Learnt. We can know no more of it, than is Written, and we cannot understand all of it that is Written. How many Words are there in *Cato*, and in other *Authors*, who Treat of *Rustick Affairs*, which no Man now understands? How many sorts of Vulgar, and Trivial things are there, which never were Writ in *Latin*? Even in the Discourses, which we think we understand best, there are certain *Elegancies* which we cannot Relish; as those which *Aulus Gellius* observes, in some places of *Cicero* and *Virgil*. And if it be almost impossible to Learn, even the Living *Languages* (which are not Natural to us) in the utmost Perfection; What can be hoped, as to those which subsist onely in *Books*? But our Comfort is, that it would be useless to know them better. We have no need of *Latin*, but for understanding

Gell. *Lib.* 1. c. 7. 13. c. 19.

Books,

Books, or for making our ſelves underſtood by Strangers. As to *Books*, we can underſtand no more than is Written: and to make our ſelves underſtood by Strangers, we ſhould Speak *Latin* much after the ſame rate that they do. Nevertheleſs, I would not Imitate the *Germans* and *Polanders*, who make no Scruple of uſing the baldeſt *Latin*, provided that they ſpeak it eaſily. But yet I would more carefully avoid the Affectation of ſome Learned Men, who, ſtriving to ſpeak *Latin* very finely, are hard to be underſtood. I ſhould rather chuſe to ſpeak worſe, and be better underſtood. I would then Accommodate my Style to the capacity of the Generality of the Learned; without neglecting it ſo, that it ſhould be Barbarous, or taking ſuch pains about it, that it ſhould be obſcure. Above all, I would have the Character of *Books* obſerved; and not have the *Jeſts*, or *Proverbs*, which *Plautus* makes his Slaves ſpeak, put into a *Treatiſe* of *Divinity*, or any other ſerious Matter; nor into a Familiar Letter, Poetical Phraſes, and Lofty Figures, taken out of *Cicero's Philippicks*. Theſe Advices are neceſſary, ſince the vanity of ſome of our Modern Learned Men has given occaſion for them, in reſpect of all theſe Indecencies. They often alſo mix *Greek* Words in their *Latin Writings*; wherein, in my opinion, they do themſelves no great honour; ſince this is ſilently to confeſs, that they know not how to expreſs in *Latin* that which they ſay in *Greek*: for he cannot be ſaid to know a Language well, who knows not therein how to expreſs what he will; at leaſt by a Circumlocution; beſides, thus to interrupt the Diſcourſe by Words, which make the *Readers* loſe what follows, is to inſult over them,

Vid. Gell. *l.* 1. *c.* 10.

them, if they know not *Greek*. But if I ſhould be neceſſitated to inſert a *Greek*, or an *Hebrew*, or any word of another Language into a *Latin* Diſcourſe, I ſhould always Write it in *Latin* Letters, that I might not puzle my *Reader*.

XIV.
Hiſtory.

THE Second of theſe Uſeful *Studies*, is *Hiſtory*. But ſeeing it is difficult for one Man to Read all thoſe we have, of all Times, and all Countries; and it is not convenient that many Perſons ſhould wholly imploy themſelves in this ſort of Reading, there is need of Choice and Order in this, as much, or more, than in any other *Study*. He who, as is uſual, ſhall think it enough to Read, at a venture, the firſt *Book* of *Hiſtory* which ſhall come to his hands, will be in danger of charging his Memory with a great many *Fables*, or of retaining nothing for want of Underſtanding that which he Reads. Some Principles therefore ſhould be given to young Men, for diſcerning what *Hiſtories* will be uſeful to them, and how they may Read them Profitably. But to doe this well, the Foundations of this *Study* ſhould be laid from their Infancy. For though Novelty be a great Charm in *Hiſtory*, yet nothing is more ungrateful, than to find nothing therein but what is New; to ſee therein nothing that you know, not ſo much as one Place, or one Perſon. The *Hiſtory* of *China* is full of great Occurrencies, and rare Examples of Vertue; yet becauſe we never have heard any thing of *Fao*, nor of *Chimtamyou*; and even the lateſt *Geography* of this great Country, is not at all familiar to us; This *Hiſtory* (at the firſt eſpecially) is very tedious to us. The Memory is continually in Labour. When we

we find a proper Name, we know not whether we have already ſeen it or no; or, we remember that we have ſeen it, but we have forgotten what it is; or take a Country for a Man, or a Man for a Woman; we ſee not the Intereſt which one had to Love or Hate another. In ſhort, the Mind is oppreſt with ſo many Novelties, all at once, that it is in continual pain. On the contrary, when a Man who has ſtudied but a little, Reads *Herodotus*, or *Titus Livius*, he meets every where with what he knows; the greateſt Objects are familiar to him. He has, all his Life long, heard Men talk of *Cyrus*, of *Crœſus*, of *Rome* and *Carthage*. But he ſees a great many particulars which he had no knowledge of; and 'tis this knowledge which makes his Reading pleaſant to him, becauſe he knows whither to refer what he Learns, and becauſe he labours not to underſtand or retain the Principal matters. The trouble is much more to them who have no Learning at all; accordingly they complain, for the moſt part, of their ill Memory. But they ought rather to complain of their ill Education; which makes the *Greek* or *Roman Hiſtory* almoſt as troubleſom to them, as that of the *Chineſe*, or *Muſul-men* is to thoſe, who have gon through the more ordinary *Studies*. Yet there is here a great difference; for there are few among us who have not heard of *Alexander*, *Cæſar* and *Charlemaign*; But who, except ſome few who are curious, knows any thing of *Almamon*, or *Ginguiſcan*?

We cannot begin too ſoon to Teach Children the Principles of *Hiſtory*. At the ſame time, when we Acquaint them with the Matters of Fact, which ſerve as a Foundation to the Inſtructions concerning

cerning Religion; we ſhould alſo relate unto them, thoſe which are the moſt conſiderable, ſurpriſing, pleaſant, and eaſie to be remembred in Prophane *Hiſtory*. Thoſe rather than others ſhould be choſen, which ſtrike the Imagination. *Romulus's Wolf*; *The Death of Lucretia*; *The Sacking of Rome by the Gauls*; *The Triumph of Pompey, or that of Paulus Æmylius*; *The Death of Cæſar*. And if they could have a Sight of *Medals*, *Statues*, or *Pictures*, the Images of them would be more lively, and be imprinted deeper in the Memory. This doubtleſs, is the greateſt uſe of *Painting* and *Engraving*; and it was a great advantage to the Ancient *Greeks*, that they might Learn *Hiſtory* even without Reading, only by walking about in their Cities. For whereſoever they turn'd their Eyes, they found either Imboſſed Works, or Excellent Pictures in their Temples, in their Publick Halls, which Repreſented Battels, and other Famous Events; or the Statues of Illuſtrious Men, whoſe Countenances reſembled the Originals, and whoſe Habit and Poſture denoted what was the occaſion of their Advancement. Even in the Countrey it ſelf there were to be ſeen, Trophies, Tombs and Pyramids, which were as ſo many Monuments of *Hiſtory*.

Great care alſo there ſhould be to acquaint children with a great many proper Names of Men and Places; that they might ſoon be familiar to them, and excite their Curioſity. Eſpecially I would mention thoſe to them which make the greateſt Figure in the *Hiſtory* of the World, *Seſoſtris*, *Ninus*, *Nabucodonoſor*, *Cyrus*, *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Homer*, *Lycurgus*; and the *Romans* proportionably. But I would joyn thereto the Names of Modern

Hiſtory;

Hiſtory; which yet are uſually much leſs ſpoken of to Children: *William the Conquerour*, *Godfrey of Boüillon*, *Sancho the Great* King of *Navarre*; and all the other who have been moſt Famous theſe Six hundred years. Neither would I altogether omit even the *Orientals*; I would have a Child to have heard ſome talk of the *Cailiffs* of *Bagdad* and *Cairo*; of the great Power of the *Turks*, and that of the *Moguls*: their Names would not appear to them ſo Barbarous afterwards, if they were accuſtomed to them betimes. They ſhould alſo make uſe of *Geographical Maps*, for the Names of Places, which alſo they might learn according to the difference of all Times, and all Languages, as far as may be. In the beginning of theſe Inſtructions, I would not confine my ſelf to any order of Dates, or Chronology, but follow the Curioſity of Children, as occaſion ſhould be given, to recount to them all theſe Names and Actions.

The Matter of *Hiſtory* being thus prepared, I would begin to put it into order, as ſoon as my *Scholar* ſhould be Ten or Twelve years old. I would then make him obſerve the *Epochs*, which are uſed in the reckoning of time. The *Olympiades*, the *Foundation* of *Rome*, *Alexander*, the *Incarnation*, the *Mahometan Hegira*. But I would not Embaraſs him with an Exact *Chronology*, nor oblige him to Retain the meer Simple Dates: for this requires a great Effort of Memory. I would alſo carefully abſtain from ſpeaking to him of the *Julian Period*; and I would not uſe even the years of the *Creation of the World*: for 'tis very Difficult, not to ſay Impoſſible, to fix them; and beſides, they are not of great Uſe, ſince

ſince to the Times of the Foundation of *Rome*, and the *Olympiades* (which are the ſame almoſt) there ſcarce is any *Hiſtory* but the Sacred: The *Succeſſion* of which, I ſhould be ſatisfied if he knew well, according to the ordinary *Epochs*, of the *Flood*, of *Abraham*, *Moſes* and *Solomon*, without concerning himſelf much about the Total Sum of Years, which cannot, without much difficulty, be drawn into a Sum And unto thoſe Perſons, and Occurrencies which are moſt known to us, I would have him to refer that little of *Prophane Hiſtory*, which there is in theſe times: *Danaus* and *Cecrops* to *Moſes*, *Cadmus* to *Joſhua*, *Homer* to the Prophet *Elias*; leaving the Care of Computing the years of the *World* to thoſe, who have Leiſure and Curioſity to *Study Chronology* more profoundly.

Moreover, I would often Repeat unto him certain General Obſervations, which render the *Study* of *Hiſtory* more ſhort, more eaſie, and more uſeful. You muſt know (would I ſay to him) that we have not the *Hiſtories* of all Times, nor of all Countries. There have always been a great many ignorant Nations; and of thoſe who have Written, there are very few whoſe *Books* we know. All the *Hiſtories* of the Ancient *Orientals*, of the *Egyptians*, *Syrians*, *Chaldeans* and *Perſians*, are periſhed; and the moſt Ancient which we have, except that of God's People, is the Hiſtory of *Herodotus*: which was not Written till about Two thouſand years after the Flood, and Twelve hundred after *Moſes*. To the Time of *JESUS CHRIST* we have ſcarce any Books but thoſe of the *Greeks* and *Romans*, wherein are Recorded any Hiſtories (which are certain, and worthy

worthy of Belief) more Ancient than the Foundation of *Rome*. For Five hundred years after *JESUS CHRIST*, you have onely one Hiſtory to follow, which is the *Roman*. But after the Ruin of the *Weſtern Empire*, *Spain*, *France*, *Italy* and *England* Compoſed each of them their particular Hiſtory: To which muſt be added thoſe of *Germany*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *Sweedland* and *Denmark*, proportionably according to the time when they began. Nevertheleſs all theſe Hiſtories may be referr'd to that of *France*, becauſe the Empire of *Charlemaign* Comprehended the Greateſt part of theſe Countries; and in others, he was ſo Reſpected, that the People accounted it their honour to imitate the Manners of his Subjects: Whence it is, that the *Levantines* compriſe all the Nations I have mentioned under the Name of *Franks*. This is the Succeſſion of the Hiſtory which is moſt known to us; except you will add thereunto the *Byzantine* Hiſtory, which we have for Two hundred years. As for that of the *Muſulmen*, which contains all that hath paſſed for a Thouſand years in *Egypt*, *Syria*, *Perſia*, *Africa*, and all the other Countries, where the Mahometan Religion is ſpread, we are ignorant of it to this day.

The Reaſon of this is not, as is commonly believed, becauſe the Mahometans have Written nothing, or becauſe their Books are loſt: for there is as much of their Hiſtory alone as would make a whole Library; but their Books are neither Printed, nor Tranſlated, excepting two or three, which go about in the hands of the Curious. We know alſo, that the *Chineſe* have a Long Succeſſion of Hiſtory, whereof we have

had in *Latin* an Abridgment about Thirty years ſince. We know that the *Indians* have very Ancient Traditions, Written in a particular Language. We know ſomething of the Hiſtory of *Mexico*, and the *Incaes*, which yet doth not riſe very high; And within theſe Two hundred years we have had an infinite number of Relations of ſeveral Voyages. This is all that we know of Hiſtories. We ſee how little it is, in compariſon with the whole Compaſs of the Earth, and all Succeſſions of Ages; yet nevertheleſs, as little as it is, 'tis too much for one ſingle Man: So that it is in this *Study* eſpecially, we ſhould chuſe carefully, and limit our ſelves.

Firſt we ought to know what to hold to, as to the beginnings of each Hiſtory, that we may not give credit to *Fables*, which affect to advance too high. The ſureſt Rule is, to look upon all that as Suſpicious which precedes the time, when each Nation received the uſe of *Letters*. Beſides, the Quality, and the Times of the Hiſtorians ſhould be diligently obſerv'd. It may be ſaid in general, that no Hiſtories deſerve credit, but of thoſe who have Written of their own Times; or of thoſe who have Collected out of ſuch Hiſtorians; whoſe Books, by a Succeſſive Tradition, may have been delivered down to us. But when there are Interruptions in an Hiſtory, and large obſcure Vacuities, all that went before ought to be ſuſpected. I ſhould content my ſelf with this Order, and theſe General Rules for Univerſal Hiſtory, and oblige my Scholar, to have a more ſpecial inſight into the particular Hiſtory of his own Country.

Further-

Furthermore, This Study ſhould be very differently extended, or contracted, according to the Quality of Perſons. A Man of indifferent condition needs but a very little Hiſtory: He, who is likely to have ſome ſhare in Publick Affairs, ſhould know a great deal more thereof; and a Prince cannot know too much. The Hiſtory of his own Country makes him ſee his own Affairs, and, as it were, the Titles of his Houſe; and that of Foreign Countries neareſt to him; teaches him the Concerns of his Neighbours, which are always mixed with his own. Nevertheleſs, ſince there are a great many other things to be known, and the capacity of a Man's Mind is limited; He ought chiefly to *Study* the Hiſtory of his own Country, and Houſe; and to have a more particular Knowledge of that, which is neareſt to his own Time. I would have every Lord proportionably to know well the Hiſtory of his own Family; and every private perſon that of his own Shire and Town, better than thoſe of others.

The Book of *Geneſis* is a perfect Model of the Choice which every one ſhould make in the *Study* of Hiſtory. *Moſes* has therein Compriſed all the things which it was uſeful for the *Iſraelites* to know; chiefly dilating upon thoſe which are of greateſt Importance: as the Creation, the Sin of the Firſt Man, the Deluge, the Hiſtory of the Patriarchs, unto whom God had made the Promiſes, which he was about to fulfil. He doth not omit to obſerve the Origin of all Nations; and to ſpeak more or leſs of their Hiſtory, as they had more or leſs Relation to the People for whom he Wrote. But if you would have an *Gen.* 10, 1.

Abridgment only for the refreſhing of your Memory, you have an Example thereof in the Firſt Chapter of the *Chronicles*; where the Names alone plac'd ſucceſſively, recalls all the Hiſtory of *Geneſis*. It is nevertheleſs to be wiſht, though it is not abſolutely neceſſary, that all who have leiſure, do Read the Principal Hiſtories of the *Greeks* and *Romans*. They are profitable both for Morality and Eloquence. For, bringing to the Reading of them that Corrective which I have Preſcrib'd, the Examples of the great Actions, and good Conduct of the Ancients, may be very uſeful; And the manner after which the Hiſtorians Writ, may be of great advantage to us, both as to the Method, and to the Style, if we know how to imitate them. So that a Man ſhould as well exerciſe himſelf in the *Latin* Tongue, by Reading the Hiſtorians as other *Authors*; ſince without Reading much he cannot Learn it.

XV. *Natural Hiſtory.*

AFter the Hiſtory of the Manners and Actions of Men, the moſt uſeful *Study*, in my opinion, is Natural Hiſtory. I comprehend under this Name, all that Knowledge which is Poſitive, and founded upon that Experience, which reſpects the Conſtruction of the Univerſe, and of all its parts: as far as is needful for one, who is not to be an *Aſtronomer*, *Phyſician*, or *Naturaliſt* by Profeſſion. For no Man, ſurely, ſhould be altogether ignorant of this World which we inhabit, of theſe Plants, and theſe Animals which nouriſh us; of that which we are our ſelves. I know very well, that the Knowledge of our Selves is the moſt neceſſary of all. But this is the Knowledge of the Soul, which I referr to

Logick,

Logick, and *Morality*. As for the Body, ſince we govern it much leſs by Knowledge, than by a blind Inſtinct, attended with Motions, which depend upon us, yet without our Knowledge of the Springs and Machines, which are the immediate Cauſes of them, the particular Knowledge of its Structure is ſcarce of any uſe to us, but for the admiring its *Author*; who is not leſs admirable in other Animals, and other parts of Nature. It's true, we ſhould be affected more with that which we find in our ſelves. Moreover, the Knowledge of the Body is very uſeful for underſtanding the Paſſions, their Cauſes, and their Cures, which is a great part of Morality; and for diſcerning what is proper for the preſervation of Health, from that which is deſtructive thereof; which is one of the *Studies* which I have plac'd amongſt the moſt neceſſary.

This Natural Hiſtory therefore ſhould Compriſe Coſmography, and Anatomy. By Coſmography, I underſtand the Syſtem of the World, the Diſpoſition of the Stars, their Diſtances, their Magnitudes, their Motions; according to the late obſervations of the moſt exact Aſtronomers; depending upon them as skilful Perſons, who deſerve to be credited, without examining their Proofs. Herein alſo I comprehend the Meteors, not labouring to ſearch out the Cauſes of them, but only to know the Matters of Fact: The Deſcription of the Earth, not ſo much of its Surface, which relates to Geography (and is referr'd to the Moral Hiſtory) as its Depth, and the different Bodies, which it contains. At firſt ſight, it ſeems, as if this Knowledge was no more than pure Curioſity; but, in truth, it is

very uſeful for raiſing the Mind, and inlarging it; for furniſhing us with true Ideas of the Infinite Wiſdom, and Almighty Power of God, of our own weakneſs, and the littleneſs of all Humane things. Under the Name of Anatomy I compriſe that of Plants, as well as that of Animals, without lanching into Curioſities, which has no bounds. I would have my Scholar to know well the Animals of his own Country, the moſt famous of other Countries, and the Plants which are moſt uſed: That he ſhould know how to diſtinguiſh the principal parts of a Plant, and an Animal; That he ſhould ſee how theſe Living Bodies are nouriſhed, and preſerved; but particularly, That he ſhould be acquainted with the Admirable Structure of thoſe Springs, which make Animals to move: I mean that of them which is felt with the Finger, the Bones and the Muſcles. This *Study*, if he have Leiſure and a Genius, may be extended to the Knowledge of thoſe Arts, wherein are employ'd the moſt Ingenuous Machines; or which produce the moſt conſiderable changes in Natural Bodies; as Chymiſtry, the Melting of Metals, making Glaſs, Tanning and Dying.

XVI. *Geometry.*

INto the number of thoſe *Studies* which are uſeful to all Students, I alſo put Geometry: In truth, it doth not onely contain the Principles of ſeveral very uſeful Arts, as Mechanicks, Surveying, Trigonometry, Gnomonicks, Architecture wholly, (eſpecially Fortification, of ſuch great uſe at this day) but alſo it forms the Mind in general, and ſtrengthens the Reaſon extreamly. It accuſtoms Men, not to content themſelves with appear-

appearances; to ſeek after Solid Proofs; and not to ſtop, as long as there is the leaſt ground for doubting: and by this means to diſcern Convincing and Demonſtrative Reaſons from meer Probabilities. It would nevertheleſs be dangerous, if not directed by ſuch a Logick as I have reckoned amongſt the number of neceſſary *Studies*. For 'tis this Logick, which lays down the Great Rules of Evidence, of Certainty and Demonſtration: and bids us not believe, that none but ſenſible and imaginable things, as the objects of Geometry are, can be clearly known: That there are no certain Reaſonings, but thoſe concerning the Relations of Angles, and Lines, or the proportions of Numbers: That we ought, in all matters, to expect the ſame kind of Certainty. But when theſe Diſtinctions and General Rules are laid down by a good Logick, Geometry opens a great Field of Exerciſe for Defining, Dividing, and Reaſoning.

VII. *Rhetorick.*

TOwards the end of the Young Man's *Studies*, when he is about the Age of Fourteen or Fifteen, or later (as his Underſtanding and Leiſure will permit) the more ſolid Rules of true Eloquence may be made known unto him. I do not propoſe this *Study* as neceſſary, becauſe one may be a good Man, and alſo expert to ſuch a degree, without being Eloquent; as alſo becauſe Eloquence depends, at leaſt as much upon *Nature* as *Study*. It muſt, nevertheleſs, be confeſt, that it is of great uſe; and that ordinarily it makes the moſt important and difficult Affairs to ſucceed well. For here by Eloquence or Rhetorick I do not underſtand, what is generally

underſtood thereby, by abuſing a word, which *Pedants* and *Declamers* have brought into diſrepute. I do not, I ſay, underſtand that, which enables Men to make Ceremonious Harangues, and other ſuch-like Studied Diſcourſes, which tickle the Ear for the preſent, but uſually do nothing but raiſe Diſturbances. I underſtand hereby the Art of perſwading effectually, whether a Man ſpeaks in Private, or in Publick. I mean that, which makes one Advocate to carry more Cauſes than another; one Preacher, Humanly ſpeaking, to Convert more Souls; one Magiſtrate to have a greater ſway in the Debates of his Company; one Agent to make a more advantageous Treaty for his Prince; one Miniſter of State to Govern more in his Counſels than another. In a word, That which makes a Man become Maſter of other Men's Minds, by Speech. I know well, that they who ſucceed in the greateſt Affairs, have more of natural Parts, and Experience, than Study; but I doubt not, but that Study would be very uſeful to them. They would have never the leſs of thoſe fine natural accompliſhments, and that great Experience: And yet, over and beſides, they would have ſome more certain Rules, and the Examples of the greateſt Men of Antiquity. A Prince, or Miniſter of State, who ſhould be ſo well Educated, as to be, from his Youth, well acquainted with *Cicero*, *Demoſthenes*, and *Thucydides*, would find great pleaſure in Reading them over again when he comes to the Age of Maturity, and receive great benefit from them. But theſe Authors uſually become uſeleſs, and are deſpiſed for want of fit Readers. They are Read to Children, who would

would not underſtand, even in *French*, ſuch-like Diſcourſes, for want of Experience in the World, and attention unto Matters of Moment. Or if they be Read by Men, they are the Learned by Profeſſion, as *Regents*, *Prieſts*, and *Religious*, who are Sequeſtered from the World, and are fill'd with *Ideas*, quite different from thoſe, which imploy'd the Thoughts of theſe Authours. *Cicero* and *Demoſthenes* were Men brought up in the World, and in Buſineſs: They Roſe by their Merit much above their Birth (which yet was honeſt, according to the Cuſtom of their Nation) and they arrived to the greateſt Power they could have in their Commonwealths. *Cicero* was Conſul, that is, for the ſpace of a Year, he was at the Head of an Empire, as large as Twelve ſuch as any we now ſee in *Europe*. He Governed a Province, he Commanded Troops, he was equal in Dignity, to *Cæſar* and *Pompey*, Kings Courted him. Yet becauſe we have read theſe Authors at School, we often retain a very unbecoming *Idea* of them; becauſe we know that they Pleaded Cauſes, we take them for ſuch Advocates as Ours are; and do not conſider that *Cæſar* Pleaded alſo, and might have diſputed Eloquence with *Cicero* himſelf. Beſides, we ſee many who Study them all their Lives, without becoming thereby more fit for the World and Buſineſs; and we do not Reflect, that theſe Perſons ſeek for nothing in them but Language, and Figures of *Rhetorick*, which they often imitate very wretchedly; they ſeek nothing leſs in them, than the way of managing great Affairs.

Sueton in Jul. 55.

The more things the Scholar ſhall know, and the more his Reaſon ſhall be Form'd, the more

more capable he will be of this Study of Eloquence. For it only gives the Form to Diſcourſes; good Senſe, and Experience muſt furniſh the Matter. I ſhould therefore wait till the young Man ſhould have Thoughts, and be able to ſay ſomething of himſelf, before I would Teach him the Way and Manner of ſpeaking. Firſt, I would ſecure *Morality*, and give him to underſtand as ſoon as he ſhould be capable; that Eloquence is a good accompliſhment, being only the perfection of Speech: That, as Speech is given Us, only that we may ſpeak the Truth, Eloquence is given to make this Truth eſteemed, and to hinder it from being ſtifled by the ill Artifices of thoſe who oppoſe it, or the bad Diſpoſition of them who hear it: That it is to abuſe Eloquence, to make it ſerve Intereſts and Paſſions; though *Cicero* and the greateſt part of Orators have made this uſe of it: That its regular uſe is to perſwade Men to that which is truly good, and eſpecially, that which may make them better; Painting out to them, the horrour of Vice, and Beauty of Vertue in lively Colours; as the Prophets and the Fathers of the Church have done. This is what I call the Morality of Eloquence.

Vid. Plat. Gorg.

Auguſt. *Doct. Chriſtian.* L. III. c. 2, 5, *&c.*

The Art conſiſts in knowing how to Speak and Write well, upon all occaſions of Life; not only in publick Actions, as thoſe Harangues, which are made only to comply with ſome certain Formalities; but in the more ordinary Debates about Buſineſs, and in ſimple Converſations, in knowing how to give a relation of any Matter, to Write a Letter: All this is Matter of Eloquence, proportionably as the Subject requires it.

To

To ſhew him the Secret of it, I would Principally uſe Examples and Exerciſe. The Examples might be taken out of *Cicero*, or *Demoſthenes*, according as the Scholar ſhould be acquainted with theſe Languages. If he knew no *Latin*, the Tranſlations of *Cicero* might be recommended to him, or ſome good Modern Book, as the Cardinal *D' Oſſat*'s Letters, which are full of ſolid Eloquence, by which he had Succeſs in Buſineſs. Theſe Examples would give ſubſtance and pleaſure to the Precepts: For naked Precepts, given in general, would always be Dry and Barren; and as St. *Auguſtin* ſays, one of good natural parts would acquire Eloquence, rather by hearing Eloquent Diſcourſes, than by Studying Precepts of Eloquence. He will thus gain by all ſorts of Reading: He will every where find Examples of that which he ought to follow, and avoid; and this Exerciſe would ſettle his Judgment: For he muſt be accuſtomed to Judge of what he Reads, to give a Reaſon, why he thinks it good or bad. Theſe Reaſons make up the whole Art of *Rhetorick*, which has been Form'd upon Examples, by obſerving what did effectually perſwade, and what was prejudicial to Perſwaſion, and making Rules thereupon; to the end, that they might not talk meerly at a venture, but by Rule and Diſcretion: Not only Reading, but Converſations, and the moſt common Diſcourſes of Life, are good Leſſons of Eloquence. Theſe living and familiar Examples, might render it more ſolid and real, than Books, and all that which ſmells of the School can. It is therefore, adviſeable, to learn a young Man, how to make advantage of it, and to Study all the Art of Diſcourſe

Doct. Chriſtian. L. c. 3.

Ariſtot. *Rhetor.* L. 1. *initio.*

courſe, after this natural way. Make him obſerve the Addreſſes, which the groſſeſt ſort of People uſe to make their Intereſts take effect; with what force the Paſſions make them ſpeak, and what variety of Figures they furniſh: How the Voice, the Geſture, and all the outward Demeanour, is fitted to the motion of him who ſpeaks. Theſe Examples are ſtronger in them, who are exerciſed in Buſineſs, than in others; in the City, than in the Country; at the Court, than in the City; and Figures are more lively in Women, than in Men.

The other means of Teaching this Art, which is Exerciſe, ſhould conſiſt, not only in Writing, but in Speaking. I would have this Exerciſe always to be perform'd in *French*, how well ſoever the Scholar might know *Latin*. 'Tis ſufficient that he be buſied in Learning to ſpeak well, without applying himſelf alſo to a Language which is not natural unto him. 'Tis to be fear'd, that he would force his Thoughts, for want of knowing how to expreſs them true enough, or leaſt he ſhould loſe ſome fine Period in *Cicero*: If he ſhould treat of any ancient Subject, he probably, will Tranſcribe (without underſtanding them) the Phraſes of thoſe Authors he has Read: And if the Subject be Modern, he will be puzled to ſpeak of it in *Latin*. For being accuſtomed to ſpeak only to *Greeks* or *Romans*, he'll be altogether at a loſs, when he muſt ſpeak to Men, wearing Hats and Periwigs; and is to treat of the Intereſts of *France* and *Germany*, where there is neither Tribune to Plead before, nor Solemn Popular Aſſemblies, nor Conſuls. Let him Write therefore, in his own Language; firſt of all, Narrations, Letters, and other eaſie Compoſitions.

After-

Afterwards, let him make ſome *Elogy* of a Great Man, ſome common place of Morality; but ſuch as is ſolid, without *Jargon*, *Galamafries*, and *Falſe Thoughts*: Let him expreſs his real Thoughts ſeriouſly. Laſtly, when he ſhall have made ſome Progreſs, let him Write whole Diſcourſes; as Diſſertations upon the Hiſtories he ſhall have Read, and upon the Subjects he ſhall know the beſt; that he may, as far as he ſhall be able, bring together all the circumſtantial Proofs of the Matter, avoiding wandering, and general Diſcourſes. Theſe Written Compoſitions do accuſtom Youth to attend, to fix their Thoughts, to chuſe the Beſt, and put them into Order; to make Periods, and in them, to obſerve the Turn, and meaſure, which pleaſe the Ear: In a word, to ſpeak exactly. The Exerciſe of ſpeaking, will accuſtom them to hold on a continued Diſcourſe, without being at a loſs, without Heſitating, or Correcting themſelves, to be bold and attentive. Now by this Exerciſe of Speaking, I do not underſtand ſo much that which is called Declaiming (which, at moſt, is uſeful, only to thoſe who, in time, are to ſpeak in publick) as thoſe Diſcourſes which are familiar, coherent and maintained by thoſe, who ſpeak well of Buſineſs, or relate an Hiſtory well in Converſation. This is that which I call *Rhetorick*.

XIX. *Poetry.*

But if your Scholar be one of an extraordinary Genius, you may carry him on to *Poetry*, which is, in Truth, but a more ſublime ſort of Eloquence. I do not think, that this Art ſhould be Taught to many; ſeeing it is better there ſhould be no wretched Poets, than 'tis neceſſary there

there ſhould be any Poets at all. For Verſification ought not to be accounted Poetry, nor ſhould we look upon Poetry only as a Diverſion, judging of it according to Modern Examples. To ſee the true Character of it, we ſhould go as high as *Sophocles* and *Homer*: In them we ſhall ſee Poetry very grave and pleaſant both together, fit to form the Judgment for the Conduct of Life, and full of Inſtructions, very neceſſary to thoſe for whom they were made; that is to ſay, of their Religion, and Hiſtory of their Country. We may ſee the ſame thing in *Pindar*, and the other *Greek* Poets. The *Latins* have only imitated them: It is true, that *Homer* and *Pindar*, who ſo well underſtood this Art, have uſed it in fomenting Idolatry, and making themſelves paſs (by a wicked ſort of impoſture) for inſpired Men and Prophets; not to ſpeak of the imperfection of their *Morality*: So that to find true Poetry eſtabliſhed upon a ſolid Foundation, wherein we may ſecurely taſte all the pleaſure the Tongues of Men can give it, we muſt go to the Songs of *Moſes* and *David*, and other true Prophets. 'Tis there we ſhould take the true *Idea* of Poetry.

It conſiſts in my Opinion, in giving to the moſt neceſſary Truths, a pleaſant and affecting Reliſh, for the forming of Men's Lives, and rendering them happy; and in imploying for this noble end, all that is moſt forceable, lofty, and ſparkling in the Mind of Man; all that is moſt Expreſſive and Elegant in Speech, all that is moſt Harmonious, and Paſſionate in the ſound of the Voice. This therefore cannot be the ſport of Children; it is miſerably to abuſe thoſe Excellent Talents which God hath given us, to imploy them

in

in wicked or uſeleſs Subjects. We ſhould rather Labour to reconcile the lively imagination with good Senſe, and with Vertue.

There will be no great need of giving many Rules of Poetry, to one, who already knows thoſe of Eloquence: To ſuch an one, ſcarce any thing more need to be given, but ſome exceptions; thereby obſerving how high Poetry may riſe, and what it cuts off from ordinary Diſcourſes. The moſt neceſſary thing, would be to ſhew the different Characters of the ſeveral pieces of Poetry: As what is an Ode, what an Hymn, an Elegy, an Eclogue, and ſo of others; deſcribing them according to the Model of the Ancients, principally the *Greeks*; and ſhewing how we may imitate them. As for the Rules of Verſifying, this is a buſineſs but of a few Leſſons; Exerciſe alone will make it eaſie. I do not here ſpeak of *Latin* Verſes; if any of them be made, it ſhould be, rather as an Exerciſe of *Grammar*, for knowing the quantity, and having choice of Words for Compoſing: And yet, I know not, whether this Profit would balance the Trouble, which the Scholar would find in Learning to make theſe *Latin* Verſes. But they, who would pretend to Poetry, ſhould Exerciſe themſelves in their own Language, and Write for their own Nation. To conclude, I will not ſay, that Poetry is an uſeleſs knowledge to all thoſe who are not Born Poets, or do not intend to Exerciſe this Talent. 'Tis fit, that the greateſt part of well-bred Men ſhould be able to judge of Poetry, by true Principles; and to this purpoſe, that they ſhould know the Characters of the ſeveral Compoſitions, and the Examples of the Ancients. But I

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cannot perſwade my ſelf to put this Study into the number of thoſe which are the moſt uſeful, of which I have already ſpoken. I only place it in the Rank of laudable Curioſities, which I am now about to enumerate.

XX. *Curious Studies.*

AS the firſt therefore of theſe Curioſities I reckon Poetry in *Theory*, and the Reading of the ancient Poets. Not but that a Man, if he knows them well, may profit thereby, eſpecially by the *Greeks*: But to read them with pleaſure, a Man ſhould ſo well know their Language, their Mythology and their Manners; that the profit or the pleaſure which would come thereby, ſeems to me not worth all this Toil: conſidering, that there are ſo many things beſides, that are neceſſary to be known. To Poetry, I joyn Muſick: I do not mean only the Exerciſe of Singing, and the Rules for Managing the Voice, but the Art and Principles of theſe Rules. With theſe alſo I joyn Painting, Deſigning, and all the Arts which depend thereon. I put alſo, amongſt the number of Curious Studies, all thoſe parts of *Mathematicks*, which go beyond the Elements of *Arithmetick* and *Geometry*. Herein I count *Perſpective*, *Opticks*, *Aſtronomy*, the *Theory* of the *Planets*: Exactneſs in *Chronology*: The inquiry after *Antiquities*, as *Medals* and *Inſcriptions*: The Reading of *Travels*: The Study of *Languages*: For, excepting *Latin*, the reſt may be Rank'd amongſt the Curioſities.

Not but that the *Greek* may be very uſeful to all, who deſire to be well skill'd in *Philology*, principally to *Clergy-men*. The *Italian*, and the *Spaniſh* are ſo nearly Ally'd to the *French*; that,

as

as little as our Genius lies towards Languages, we ought not to neglect them. As for other ſtrange Languages, as the *Engliſh* and *German*; there is nothing but particular profit which can countervail the difficulty of Learning them. But the moſt dangerous Curioſity of this kind, is that of the *Oriental Languages*. It Flatters our Vanity, as being ſingular, and having ſomething prodigious in it. Beſides it denotes a profound Learning, becauſe theſe Languages are not ordinarily Learn'd, but after thoſe which are more common. But in Truth, its uſefulneſs is not ſo great as to pay for the time and trouble which it coſts. As whole Nations reap Advantage from the Courage and Curioſity of ſome few Travellers, who have diſcovered the moſt remote Countries; and from the induſtry of the Merchants who daily Trafick therein: So 'tis ſufficient, that ſome few of the Curious, by their Tranſlations and Extracts, ſhould let us know the Books of the *Arabians*, *Perſians*, and other Orientals. Curioſity goes much beyond the extent of the Memory, or even of Life it ſelf; and amongſt the Curious themſelves, it is to be wiſh'd, that each of them would limit himſelf to one Language, that he might know it well; or, at moſt to two or three, which have a great Connexion betwixt one another; rather than to have an imperfect Knowledge of a great number of them.

I except the *Hebrew* Language, in reſpect to the *Holy Scripture*, which 'tis hard well to underſtand, without having ſome Tincture thereof: And I account it very advantageous to the Church, that there are always ſeveral *Clergy-men*, who underſtand it; if it was for no other Reaſon but to ſilence the *Hereticks*, who think to Fortifie

themſelves thereby, and to Labour in the Converſion of the *Jews*, in thoſe Countries where they are. But, excepting the neceſſity of this Controverſie, I would not oblige my ſelf to Read many *Rabbins*. There is more to be loſt than gotten by this Study. Let us not ſuffer our ſelves to be deceived by the Vanity, of knowing that, which all others are ignorant of; let us conſider what uſe it is really of. If there ſhould be any thing uſeful in the *Rabbins*, it would be the Matters of Fact, and Traditions of their ancient Cuſtoms of their Nation: But they are, for the moſt part ſo Modern, that 'tis very difficult to believe, that they have preſerved theſe Traditions. There are ſcarce any of them older than Five Hundred Years; ſo that though the *Talmud* ſhould have been Written but a Thouſand Years ago, there would ſtill be Five Hundred Years, wherein theſe Traditions muſt have been preſerved without Writing: A thing which is ſcarce probable. The Time and the Style of their Books, ſeem to ſhew that they Writ only in Emulation of the *Mahometans*. Nevertheleſs, if any one have ſo much inclination for this kind of Study, as to give himſelf wholly up to it; I would have him to confine himſelf chiefly to the *Talmud*, where he will doubtleſs find their moſt ancient and profitable Traditions, for the knowledge of the Manners of the *Jews*; principally after their return out of Captivity, to their intire diſperſion under the *Romans*. But this Labour is too painful, and unpleaſant to invite many Men to undertake it.

Another Curious Study, which yet may be very uſeful, is the *Theory* of the different Trades

and

and Manufactures. In this Rank alſo, I place the Knowledge of *Plants*, not only ſuch as are uſeful, but of all that has been ſaid of them, and likewiſe of *Animals*, and all natural Hiſtory, proportionably: The Experiments of *Chymiſtry*, or of other Arts, whereby new Secrets have been diſcovered: The different *Syſtems* which the *Philoſophers* have invented, for the Explaining the effects of Nature: That is to ſay, in a word, all *Phyſicks*, or natural *Philoſophy*. I call all this Curioſity: It is better to be buſied therein, than to be Idle, or devote ones ſelf to Play: But a Man ought to be very cautious on the other Hand, that he doth not ſo deliver himſelf up to Curioſities, as to quit the Eſſential Duties of Life; as to neglect Buſineſs and more uſeful Studies, though leſs pleaſant; as to deprive himſelf of Bodily Exerciſe, which preſerves his Health, or of neceſſary Diverſion for unbending the Mind, and putting it into a condition of applying it ſelf to more uſeful things. It is this Paſſion of Curioſity, which doth moſt harm to Learned Men; though otherwiſe it often conduces to the carrying on certain pieces of Knowledge, very far. But for this end, 'tis ſufficient, that ſome private Men ſuffer themſelves to be Tranſported with this Paſſion.

XXI. *Uſeleſs Studies.*

I Put a great deal of difference betwixt thoſe Curioſities which are laudable and good in themſelves, and thoſe Studies which are bad, or altogether uſeleſs. I had rather a Man ſhould do nothing, than ſeek after the *Philoſopher's Stone*: I had rather he ſhould be ignorant, than know the great, or the little Art of *Raymund*

Lully; which makes a Man to know nothing truly, and yet to believe that he knows every thing, becauſe he knows the Alphabets, and Tables, wherein, under certain Words, and Figures, are placed Notions, ſo general, which none can be ignorant of, even without Study; and which alſo lead to nothing. In this Rank likewiſe, I place every thing that deceives, under the Name of *Philoſophy*: The *Phyſicks* which give a Man no knowledge of Nature: The *Metaphyſicks*, which doth not at all conduce to the inlightening the Mind, and do not lay down the great and Fundamental Principles of the Sciences.

Judiciary *Aſtrology* is ſtill more deſpicable than bad *Philoſophy*, ſeeing it has leſs appearance of Reaſon: And it is much more dangerous, becauſe its Deſign is to know what is to come; and engages Men, who give credit to it, to guide their Lives by deceitful Lights; notwithſtanding the expreſs Prohibitions of the Law of God, which condemns, in general, all ſorts of Divination, and particularly, the fear of the Signs of Heaven. Nevertheleſs, there are but too many, who ſuffer themſelves to be bewitch'd with it; and perhaps the Prohibition contributes thereunto: For they are not Men of the beſt Underſtanding, nor the Honeſteſt, who amuſe themſelves therewith. 'Tis true, it is not Criminal, when 'tis reſtrain'd to the Prediction of the Changes of Weather, and all that depends upon the motion of Matter: But even in this, 'tis falſe, and impertinent; ſince it Reaſons upon fanciful Principles, and which have no Foundation in Reaſon, or Experience; nor any Connexion

Deut. xviii. 11. Jer. x. 2.

nexion with the Conſequences drawn from them. Of this kind alſo, is *Chiromancy*, which foretells, I know not what, by the Lines within the Hand; and I do not underſtand, why as great Myſteries may not be diſcovered by thoſe of the Foot; unleſs it be only becauſe they cannot be ſo conveniently look'd upon.

Theſe are the Reliques of ancient Superſtitions; for all the Divination of the *Heathens* was of this Nature. They obſerved the divers Motions of the Flame aſcending upon the Altar; which they called *Pyromantie*: They conſidered the Conformation and Situation of the Extrails of their Sacrifices; and this was the Art of their *Aruſpices*: The *Augurs* obſerved the flying of Birds, their Singing, their manner of Eating: Other Deviners made their Predictions from Prodigies; whether they were really ſo in Nature; or whether they made thoſe appearances to be eſteemed as ſuch, which had nothing in them extraordinary; for Superſtition made Men fearful of every thing. If one had met a Black *Dog*, or found a *Serpent*, or if his *Stockings* were wrong put on, and a Thouſand other Accidents, to which we ſhould ſcarce believe they had any regard, if the Books of the Ancients did not ſhew the Truth of theſe things; and if we did not ſtill ſee ſome Reliques of them. There were ſome who Explained Dreams; others, who diſtinguiſhed Lucky and Unlucky Days. And abundance of People Lived upon this Trade of Divining; there were an infinite number of Books about it; it was a very long and difficult Study. For ſince it was Founded only upon the Opinion of Men, and upon pretended Experiences; it could

Theophraſt. *Charact. Superſt.* *Terent.* Phorm. *Act.* IV. *ſc.* 5.

have nothing certain. And this Art of Divination was ſupported, as other parts of *Idolatry*, by the reſpect Men had for Antiquity; for it was very ancient in the World. The *Romans* and the *Greeks* had it from the *Egyptians*, *Chaldeans*, and other *Orientals*; and it was Authorized by Religion. Chriſtianity had brought it altogether into contempt; but the *Mahometans*, and the *Jews*, have, with great diligence, Collected all that remained of it, both in Books, and in the Memories of Men. They are, at this Day, ſtill much addicted to it, and the *Indian Idolaters* much more. Amongſt Chriſtian Nations, thoſe give moſt Credit to theſe Impoſtures, who are the leaſt improved in good Learning, for nothing is ſo proper to diſabuſe them herein, as the Study of natural *Philoſophy*, and true *Aſtronomy*.

Amongſt pernicious Studies we may further reckon all that which is called *Magick*, even that which is termed Natural; which is made to conſiſt in *Sympathies*, and *Relations*, betwixt certain Numbers, and Figures, and natural Bodies; betwixt the *Stars* and *Metals*, or *Plants*, or the Parts of Human Bodies: In a word, in all the *Rêveries* of the *Cabbala*. I account it alſo unworthy of a Well-bred Man to learn the tricks of *Leger-de-Main*, or to perform all thoſe Feats of Activity, which make *Mountebanks* ſo much admired. To do them well, a Man muſt be very much Exerciſed in them; and the Pleaſure which may be taken in them, can never countervail the Time ſpent in Learning them. I ſhould ſay the ſame of all Sedentary Games, which require ſo much Attention, that after having play'd a while, the Head is diſcompoſed therewith: For thoſe, methinks, are

are ſtrange kind of Divertiſements, which make thoſe who uſe them, to ſtand in need of being diverted afterwards. The Glory of Playing well at *Cheſs*, is not, in my Opinion, worth the pains; which being well imployed, might acquire ſome ſolid knowledge, and if they, who have Parts and Leiſure, would beſtow upon ſome kind of Study, which they like, ſome of that great deal of time, which muſt be thrown away upon Games, to know them perfectly, they would receive more benefit, and probably, no leſs Pleaſure alſo. The ancient *Greeks* and *Romans*, lived pleaſantly, though they played much leſs, and allowed more time to Converſation, and Reading. But Cuſtom has prevailed, and Men now Game for Intereſt, rather than Pleaſure.

XXII. *The order of Studies according to ſeveral Ages.*

HAving run through all the Studies, which we ſhould apply our ſelves unto in the time of Youth, before we be determined unto any Profeſſion; I think it neceſſary to obſerve, in what Age I would have them placed; and how they may be carry'd on all the time, from the moſt tender Infancy, till Men enter into the World, and into Buſineſs. Firſt, There ſhould always be ſeveral Studies going on at the ſame time. I have ſignify'd this, in ſeveral paſſages of this Diſcourſe, as when I ſay, that *Morality*, *Logick*, *Hiſtory*, *Oeconomicks*, ſhould begin as ſoon as a Child is capable to underſtand what is ſaid to him; though according to the different Ages, very different Methods ſhould be obſerved therein. The ſame proportionably I have ſpoken of *Grammar*, *Arithmetick*, *Law*, and of *Rhetorick*; and it ſhould be underſtood of other Studies, and

Bodily Exerciſes, which are to be performed at the ſame time. And if any one wonder hereat, I deſire him to conſider, that Children Act, at the ſame time, by Body and Soul, and by the divers faculties of the Soul, which are to be cultivated by theſe different Studies. They Exerciſe all at once, the Will, the Reaſon, the Memory, the Imagination. If their Studies be ſeparated, 'tis to be feared, that their Manners may be Corrupted, whilſt their Memory is improving; and that, whilſt they are wholly buſied in Learning a Language, their Reaſoning may go aſtray. It will be too late to recover it again, when ill habits ſhall be formed. Beſides, Variety, more eſpecially in this Age, doth pleaſe: Children Study more willingly four different things in two hours, than one only in one hour. One Study is a Diverſion to another, and the more different they are, the leſs fear there is of confounding them.

To come now to the diſtinction of Ages, and to lay down more diſtinctly, what hitherto I intended to ſay, I ſhould deſire, that an Infant ſhould be taken care of, as ſoon as he begins to Underſtand and Speak, which I reckon is when he is about Three Years old. Till Six, I ſhould permit him to divert himſelf, and freely to look about him, preſenting, as much as poſſible, thoſe Objects to him, which may be for Inſtruction; relating to him Hiſtories, anſwering his Queſtions, and ſpeaking before him (as ſeeming to have no Deſign) that which may be uſeful to him; yet ſo, that he might be able to underſtand it. I would not, at this Age, oblige him to ſay any Leſſon, or get any thing by Heart, but the

Creed,

Creed, the *Lord's Prayer*, and ſome other Prayers. A Father, or a Mother, careful of their Duty, aſſiſted by Diſcreet and Affectionate Servants, may give him theſe firſt Inſtructions.

At Six years he may have a Maſter, who may begin gently to require ſomething of him more Regularly. He may Recount to him ſome *Hiſtory*, eſpecially ſuch as relate to Religion: Teach him the Catechiſm, to fix in him the Doctrin (of which he Diſcourſes to him more largely) and alſo to Write, and Read. At the ſame time, what he at firſt began to Inſtruct him in, muſt be continued with more Diligence than before; Rehearſing to him a great many Matters of Fact; Naming many Famous Perſons; Letting them ſee Pictures, and Geographical Maps; and, occaſionally, explaining to them that which relates to *Houſe-keeping*, *Husbandry*, and *Arts*. In theſe firſt years great care ſhould be taken to draw on Children by Pleaſure.

At Nine or Ten years they may be kept in more awe, and more ſeverely uſed, if there be need. This is alſo the time, wherein he ſhould be Inſtructed in the more Troubleſom *Studies*; as *Grammar*, *Compoſitions* in *French*, The *Languages* (according to that Profeſſion which it may be reaſonably foreſeen the Child will take to) the *Latin*, *Greek*, *German*. It is good to begin them in this Age, from Eight or Nine to Twelve. This alſo is the time to Learn the moſt Simple Operations of *Arithmetick*, and *Geometry*, to Regulate *Hiſtory* by *Chronology* and *Geography*.

At Twelve years old, it will be time to form the Judgment, and to guide *Reaſon* by *Logick*, accuſtoming the Youth to Define and Divide well, and to make

make Reflections upon his Thoughts. This is alſo the time to Teach him the Demonſtrations of *Geometry*, and other parts of *Mathematicks* which he ought to know. Moreover, he ſhould be brought to Read much, and to exerciſe his Judgment upon *Authours*: Then alſo, or ſooner, if it may be, the Terms, and Principal Maxims of the Law ſhould be begun to be Explained to him.

At Fifteen years, if you be not haſtened, it will be ſoon enough to Teach him *Rhetorick*; though you may try the Genius of your Scholar before, by ſeveral little Compoſitions, by exerciſing him in *Grammar*, and cauſing him to Epitomize the Hiſtories which he is moſt concern'd to know the beſt: They will certainly improve his Style. In theſe laſt years of *Studies* he ſhould alſo Learn that more exactly, which, as yet, he has only rudely cut out; as *Law*, and *Policy*, if his condition require it: and *Morality*, which, if poſſible, he ſhould throughly underſtand, even to the firſt Principles thereof. To this time alſo thoſe *Studies* may be reſerved, which have more of Curioſity in them, as *Poetry*, *Phyſicks* (or Natural *Philoſophy*) *Aſtronomy*: that ſo more or leſs of them may be imparted to him, according to his Leiſure and Inclination.

This ſeems to me to be the moſt convenient way of managing *Studies* according to different Ages. I am ſenſible, that 'tis impoſſible to preſcribe any one, which agrees to all Children; and that there may be very great differences herein, from the differences of Minds, which advance more, or leſs; of Conditions, which afford more or leſs leiſure, and require more, or leſs *Study*; Laſtly of Health, and the occurrences of Life. Yet I thought it would not be altogether uſeleſs to mark out this rude Draught, according to which, very nearly, meaſures may be taken in this matter.

It

XXIII. *The Studies of Women.*

IT is further neceſſary to explain my ſelf concerning the *Studies* of Perſons of the other Sex, of which I have ſaid ſomething in ſeveral places. It will doubtleſs be accounted a great *Paradox*, to ſay, That they ought to Learn any thing but their *Catechiſm*, *Sowing*, and ſeveral little Matters; to Sing, Dance, and Dreſs themſelves according to the Faſhion; to make a Curt'ſy well, and Speak Civilly: for this is all, wherein their Education is, ordinarily, thought to conſiſt. 'Tis true, they have no need of the moſt parts of Knowledge, which, at preſent, go under the Name of *Studies*: neither *Latin*, nor *Greek*, nor *Rhetorick*, nor the *College-Philoſophy* are proper for them: and, if ſome of the more Curious of them have Learnt them, they commonly drew nothing from them but Vanity; which render'd them odious to other Women, and deſpiſed by Men. Whence, as from certain Experience, it has been concluded, that Women were not capable of *Studies*: as if their Souls were of another kind, than thoſe of Men; as if they had not, as well as we, a Reaſon to Direct, a Will to Govern, Paſſions to ſtrive againſt, Health to Preſerve, and Goods to take Care of; or, as if it was more eaſie for them, than us, to Diſcharge all theſe Duties, without Learning any thing. 'Tis true, that Women have uſually leſs Attention, and leſs Patience for Reaſoning Conſequentially, leſs Courage and Reſolution than Men: and that the Conſtitution of their Bodies contributes ſomething to this Diſparity, though doubtleſs their Ill Education doth more. But, for a balance, they have more quickneſs of Mind,

and

and Penetration; more Sweetneſs, and Modeſty: and, if they be not deſign'd for ſuch conſiderable Imployments as Men are, they have, upon this, and other Accounts alſo, much more leiſure, which degenerates into a great Corruption of Manners, if it be not imploy'd in ſome *Study*. And we have particular Reaſon in *France*, to deſire that Women ſhould be Knowing, and Reaſonable; and that is the Credit and Reſpect which they have amongſt us. That which cauſes ſeveral very Polite Men, to Reaſon little, and Speak with little Coherence, is, becauſe they turn their *Studies* into Raillery, and make profeſſion of Ignorance: And this, becauſe, being form'd in the Converſation of Women, they retain the Impreſſions thereof: Whereas, on the contrary, amongſt the Ancients, with whom Learning and Reaſoning were in honour, the Women were more Learned, and yet nevertheleſs not ſo much Regarded.

To ſee what *Studies* may be uſeful to Women, I think the ſureſt way is to run over all thoſe I have already Explained. Firſt then, they ought not to be over-Ignorant in Religion, nor too knowing therein. Since they are ordinarily inclin'd to Devotion; if they be not well-Inſtructed, they may eaſily become Superſtitious. It is therefore of great Importance for them early to underſtand Religion, to be as Solid, Great, and Serious as it really is in it ſelf. But if they be Learned therein, 'tis to be feared, that they may become Dogmatical, and embrace new Opinions, when they ſhall find opportunity for it. It is enough therefore to Teach them the Common Doctrines, without entring into *Theological* Diſputes;

Diſputes; and to take the moſt pains in Inſtructing them in *Morality*; Inſpiring into them thoſe Vertues which moſt belong to them, as Sweetneſs, Modeſty, Submiſſion, Love of Retirement, and Humility; and thoſe to which their Temper is moſt oppoſite; as Courage, Reſolution, and Patience. For the Mind, they ſhould ſoon be exerciſed in thinking Coherently, and Reaſoning Solidly, upon the moſt ordinary Subjects which be of uſe to them; Teaching them what is moſt Eſſential in *Logick*, without Choaking them with Great Words, which may only fill them with Vanity. For the Body, there is ſcarce any Exerciſe proper for them, but Walking: But all the Precepts of Health which I have given, appertain unto them; and, indeed, they have the moſt need of them, ſince they are more ſubject to Indulge themſelves in this matter, and to draw Reſpect from their Diſtempers and Weakneſſes. The Health and Vigour of Women concern all the World; ſeeing they are Mothers of Boys as well as Girls. It would be well alſo for them to know the moſt eaſie Remedies of ordinary Diſtempers: for they are very fit to prepare them in Houſes, and to take care of the Sick. *Grammar*, as to them, conſiſts oneiy in Reading, and Writing, and Compoſing correctly in *French* a Letter, *Memoir*, or any other Piece ſuitable to them. *Practical Arithmetick* is ſufficient for them; and it is no leſs neceſſary for them than Men; and alſo they have need of *Oeconomicks*, ſince they are deſign'd more to intend the Affairs within doors, at leaſt more particularly: Accordingly they are careful enough to inſtruct themſelves in Domeſtick Management.

But

But, 'tis to be wiſht, that, together with this Skill, was joyned a little more Reaſon and Reflection, for the Curing of two Evils; Littleneſs of Spirit, and Covetouſneſs, ſo incident to the Managing Women; and on the other ſide, Affectation and Diſdain in thoſe who pretend to the Spirit of Wit. To this end, it would be very uſeful, to make them comprehend betimes, that the moſt Honourable Imployment of a Woman is, the care of all within Doors; provided that ſhe do not value her ſelf too much upon that, which onely tends to her Intereſt, and that ſhe know how to put every thing into its proper place.

Tho' Matters without doors chiefly relate unto the Men, yet 'tis impoſſible but that often the Women muſt have part therein; and ſometimes they find themſelves altogether charged therewith; as when they become Widows. It is therefore further neceſſary to Teach them ſome Skill in Law; that is, ſo much as I have Recommended to all Perſons of any Condition. They ſhould underſtand the Common Terms of Buſineſs, and the Great Maxims; In a word, they ſhould be capable to go to Council, and take Advice. And this Inſtruction is the more neceſſary in *France*, becauſe Women are not under Guardianſhip; and may have Great Poſſeſſions, of which they are Abſolute Miſtriſſes. They may omit all the other *Studies*: *Latin*, and other Languages, *Hiſtory*, *Mathematicks*, *Poetry*, and all [other] Curioſities. They are not deſign'd for thoſe Imployments which make theſe *Studies* either neceſſary, or uſeful to them; and ſeveral of them would only make them Inſtruments of Vanity. Nevertheleſs,

vertheleſs, 'tis better they ſhould ſpend their vacant hours in them, than in Reading Romances, in Gaming, or ſpeaking of their Petticoats, Gowns, and their Ribbons.

XXIV. *Studies of Clergy-men.*

I Think I have ſufficiently explain'd all the *Studies* which are to be Taught to Youth; and all which belong to all ſorts of Perſons of both Sexes: at preſent I ſpeak of thoſe, which are particular to Men of divers Profeſſions, referring all to the three Principal, the Church, the Sword, and the Gown.

A Clergy-man is deſign'd to Inſtruct others, concerning Religion, and to perſwade them to Vertue. Therefore he ſhould know three things; The Myſteries of Faith, Morality, and the Manner of Teaching them.

His Principal *Study* ſhould be the Holy Scripture. Let him begin to Read it from his Infancy; and continue this Reading ſo conſtantly all his Life, that every Sacred Text may be extreamly familiar unto him; and that there may be no place which he cannot quickly recollect. Though he ſhould Learn it all by heart, he would do no more than what was very common, in the firſt Ages of the Church, even in Lay-men.

This conſtant Reading of the Scripture will ſerve as a good Commentary, provided, that at firſt you ſhall onely ſeek after the litteral Senſe (which will offer it ſelf naturally to your mind) without ſtopping at Difficulties. You will always find therein clear Truths enough for your Edification, and that of others. After having Read all the Holy Scripture with attention, one Chapter after another, without skipping over any thing;

when

when you ſhall come to Read it again, a great part of your difficulties will vaniſh. They will grow ſtill leſs at a Third Reading; and the more you ſhall Read it, the more clear will it be to you; provided, that you ſhall Read it with Reſpect, and Submiſſion, conſidering that it is God himſelf who ſpeaks. The Hiſtorical Catechiſm may facilitate the Reading of Holy Scripture in Beginners; helping them to diſcern which are the moſt conſiderable paſſages, and ought to be moſt meditated upon. The Treatiſe concerning the Manners of the *Iſraelites*, is as a General Commentary, which removes ſeveral literal difficulties. As for the Spiritual Senſe of Scripture it muſt be ſoberly ſought after; chiefly relying upon that which is obſerved in Scripture it ſelf: and afterwards that which we learn by Tradition, I mean, by the moſt uniform, and Ancient Traditions of the Fathers.

A Clergy-man ought to avoid the two Extremes, of Studying too much, and too little. There are ſeveral who think that they have nothing more to do after the Office, and the Maſs, if they have no Benefice with Cure of Souls; and if they have, they believe they have done all that is required, by performing the moſt urgent Duties. But we ought not to be at reſt, as long as there ſhall be Ignorant Perſons to be Inſtructed, and Sinners to be Converted. They therefore who have no great Natural Parts, nor great conveniencies for *Studying*, who want Books, and Maſters (as in the Country, and far diſtant Provinces) ſhould make it their buſineſs to know the Eſſential and Common things: To Catechize; which is not ſuch an eaſie Office, as ſeveral ſuppoſe,

poſe, but the moſt important of all, ſeeing it is the Foundation of Religion: To make Publications of Holy-days, &c. and Familiar Exhortations, accommodated to the Capacity of the Auditours: To hear Confeſſions, and give Wholſom Advice. A Vertuous and Zealous Prieſt may do all this, without Reading any thing but the Holy Scripture, the Catechiſm, the Council, the Inſtructions of his Ritual, ſome Sermons of St. *Auguſtin*, or other Moral Book of ſome of the Fathers, which ſhall happen to fall into his hands. This is that which may be ſaid to be neceſſary, in the matter of Eccleſiaſtical *Studies*.

They who are at leiſure, and have Books, and other Conveniencies of *Studying*, ought to guard themſelves againſt Curioſity. The beſt Preſervative, in my Opinion, is, early to conſider the full extent of our Profeſſion, and all the Knowledge it requires. An Accompliſh'd Clergy-man ſhould be able to prove Religion to *Libertines* and *Infidels*; and conſequently ought to be very well skill'd in *Logick* and *Metaphyſick*, (ſuch as I have repreſented them) that he may be able to Demonſtrate, by Solid Reaſons, that every Man of Good Senſe, ought to ſubmit himſelf to the Authority of the Catholick Church. He ſhould alſo be capable to defend Religion againſt the Hereticks; and for this end to know the poſitive Proofs of our Belief, drawn from the Scripture, the Councils, or the Fathers. He ſhould know Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory, the Canon-Law, not onely the Practical, Beneficial, and that which is curious in the ancient Canons, but alſo the true Rules of Eccleſiaſtical Diſcipline (upon which all that is Practical is founded) and how that which

is not practiſed has been aboliſhed. He ſhould know Chriſtian Morality in all its extent; not contenting himſelf only with the Deciſions of Modern Caſuiſts, concerning what is Sin, and what is not: But he ſhould proceed further, and ſee how the Fathers have judged thereof, and alſo be acquainted with their Method of Teaching Vertue, and guiding Souls to Perfection. This is what we will find in *Caſſian*, and the Monaſtick Rules. A great eſteem ought to be had of theſe Works, which are the Product of ſo many Holy Experiences. Laſtly, He ſhould know the Ceremonies of the Publick Office, the Adminiſtration of the Sacraments; the Practice of all Eccleſiaſtical Functions: But this Study conſiſts, not ſo much in Reading of Books, as in the obſervation of Living Tradition. When once he has the Great Principles of Scripture, and the Fathers, he will be much inſtructed by ſeeing the Labours of others, and by labouring himſelf together with them.

Seeing that a Clergyman is deſigned to inſtruct others, it is not enough for him to know all that I have mentioned: he muſt alſo know how to Speak, and Perſwade. He therefore ſtands in need of that ſort of Logick, and that ſolid Eloquence I have ſpoken of. For let us not deceive our ſelves, a Man without Gifts is not proper for the Miniſtry of the Church. A good Prieſt is not onely a Man who Prays unto God, and leads an Innocent Life; ſuch an one, at moſt, is no more than a good Monk. He is a Prieſt to aſſiſt others; and, as he is not accounted a good Phyſician who doth not heal a great many Diſeaſes, neither is he to be called a good Prieſt, who doth

doth not Convert a great many Sinners. I do not ſay, that none ought to be made Prieſts, but ſuch as have a florid Imagination, an happy Memory, a pleaſant Voice, and ſuch like qualities, which uſually make Preachers Famous: but I ſhould deſire, that there were not any, who have not a Solid Judgment, and a right way of Reaſoning; who ſhould not know how to Inſtruct, both in Publick and in Private; with all the Sweetneſs and Authority which the difference of Subjects and Perſons do require: In a word, who ſhould not have ſome Ray of that Apoſtolick Eloquence, the perfect Model of which we have in St. *Paul.* A Clergy-man, unto whom ſo many Pieces of Knowledge are neceſſary, ſhould not loſe his time in Prophane Studies, or uſeleſs Curioſities. He ſhould alſo uſe great choice in the *Studies* appertaining to his Profeſſion: Let him not beſtow too much time upon thoſe Large *Commentaries* on *Scripture*, the ſight of which alone, is enough to terrifie, by the Bigneſs and Multitude of the Volumes; and to make one deſpair of ever underſtanding the Text: Let him not amuſe himſelf with uſeleſs Speculations, and the vain Wranglings of the School-men: Let him not ſuffer himſelf to be Tranſported too far with the humour of Criticizing upon matters of Fact, and Inquiring too Curiouſly into Eccleſiaſtical Antiquities: for there are all theſe Rocks to be avoided, even in the *Studies* which belong unto him. He ought always to remember, that the *Chriſtian Religion* is not an Humane Art, or Science, wherein every one is permitted to ſeek, and invent: that his buſineſs is onely to Collect, and faithfully preſerve the Tradition of the Church.

1 *Tim.* 1. 3. 6. 3--20. 2 *Tim.* 2. 14. &c. *Tit.* 1. 9, 10, &c. 3, 9, 10.

He ſhould Meditate Attentively upon thoſe Rules which St. *Paul* gives to *Timothy* and *Titus*, againſt Curious Queſtions; that he may avoid *Vain Diſputes* and referr all to *Charity*. Thus he will fix his Mind on thoſe *Studies* which are neceſſary, and which relate the moſt to *Practice*.

For a Clergy-man ſhould not be a profeſſedly Learned Man; who ſpends all his Life in his Cloſet, in Studying and Compoſing Books. He is to be a Man of Action, and, above all, of *Prayer*. Theſe are the two parts of the *Apoſtolick Life*, *Prayer* and *Miniſtry* of the *Word*. He ſhould therefore, every day, ſpend a conſiderable time in Converſing with God; for the cleanſing himſelf from thoſe Spots which he has contracted by action, and intercourſe with Men; for repreſenting unto him, his own needs, and thoſe of the whole Church. We ought to give unto our Neighbour all that aſſiſtance which we owe unto him, according to the *Place* we have in the *Church*, and the particular occaſions which *Charity* ſhall preſent. *Study* is to be the buſineſs of our *Youth*, and, in the reſt of our Lives, only our Reſt and Diverſion, uſefully to fill up the Intervals of *Action*.

Act. 6. 4.

When you ſhall find your ſelf Tired by Viſiting the *Sick*, or the *Poor*; by the Adminiſtration of *Sacraments*, or *Inſtruction*; When you ſhall perceive your Voice weakened, your Breaſt heated, you'll find a great pleaſure in Reading ſome *Good Paſſage* of the *Fathers*, or *Eccleſiaſtical Hiſtory*; in Meditating calmly upon ſome place of

of *Scripture*, or in hearing the Converſation of a Learned and Pious Friend. Theſe are the Divertiſements proper for Clergy-men.

XXV. *The Studies of Sword-Men.*

WE now come to the *Sword-men.* Theſe are the Men who ordinarily *Study* the leaſt: and yet there are two Reaſons of *Studying*, which are peculiar to them.

A Man, who is naturally brave, fierce, and inclin'd to courageous Actions; whoſe Birth or Imploy heightens his Courage; who has his Arms in his hand, and Men under him, ready to obey, without asking a Reaſon; This Man is in a capacity of exerciſing all ſorts of Violence; and if he be wicked, or only Paſſionate and Humourſome, he is inſufferable to all the reſt of Mankind. He is a Lyon let looſe; he is an Armed Madman. It is therefore of great moment, that they, whoſe Inclination, and Profeſſion, do put them into ſo dangerous a Condition, ſhould have a great deal of Reaſon and Power over themſelves; to the end that they may uſe their Courage and Strength only for the Publick Good, and againſt the Enemies of the State. It would be better that the Houſe ſhould not be Guarded at all, than that it ſhould be kept by Dogs, who, without diſtinction, ſhould fall upon thoſe who belong to the Houſe, as well as upon the Thieves. Plato. *Rep.* II.

The other Reaſon is, the great Idleneſs which uſually attends a Soldiers Life. He knows not what to do, when in Garriſon in Winter Quarters, in a place where he muſt ſtay any time, when his Wounds are under Cure, and oblige

him to think of them for a while. Happy then is he, if he have a Book, and can take pleaſure in Reading.

Further, I doubt not but that many more Soldiers would love *Study*, if they knew, or did conſider, that *Alexander* and *Cæſar* were very Learned; and that Ignorance joyned to Valour, never produced any other than Brutal Conquerours, and Deſtroyers of Mankind; as the *Turks* and *Tartars*.

Now the *Studies* which ſeem to me moſt proper for *Sword-men*, are theſe; Amongſt the Tongues, the *Latin*; yet rather, for the conveniency of Travel, than for Reading. And, upon this account, they ſhould be able to ſpeak it, if not Elegantly, yet at leaſt Fluently. With this Tongue a Man may Travel all over the North; it ſupplying the place of ſeveral others. Nevertheleſs 'tis very fit they ſhould know the *German* Tongue; and the ſooner they learn it, 'twill be the better. When they ſhall be once well acquainted with the *Latin*, they'll eaſily learn *Italian* and *Spaniſh*. Thus in what Country ſoever they may have been born, they will underſtand the Neighbouring-Languages, which are the moſt neceſſary. They ſhould know a great many Hiſtories: The Ancient, to ſee therein the Examples of Great Captains, *Greek* and *Roman*; to know as particularly as may be, that Military Diſcipline, and that Art of War, which made them ſo ſtrong above other Men.

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The Modern Hiſtory will give them a Knowledge of the preſent State of Affairs, and their Original; the Right of the Prince whom they ſerve, and the Intereſts of other Soveraigns. *Geography* alſo is very neceſſary for them; and, as for the Countries, eſpecially where they make War, they cannot know them too particularly, nor have a too exact *Topography* of them. As to the *Mathematicks*, they chiefly need *Arithmetick*, *Geometry* and *Mechanicks*: for knowing theſe well, they'll eaſily apprehend the practice of *Fortifications*; and all that either *Books* or *Maſters* uſe to Teach concerning the *Art of War*.

But there is one *Study* which *Sword-men* ſeldom undertake, and which yet, to me, ſeems very neceſſary, at leaſt to thoſe who are in Command; and that is, the Policy and Law of War. I mean, that they ſhould know the *Jus belli*, or Right of War, in all its extent: as, *What are the lawful cauſes thereof*; *What Formalities ought to be obſerved for the beginning of it*; *How far Acts of Hoſtility ſhould proceed*; *What Places and Perſons are exempt therefrom*; In a Word, all that which reſpects this part of Publick Right, the Execution of which is committed to them. They ſhould be well-inform'd of the Edicts of their Prince, and the particular Regulations for the Subſiſtence and Diſcipline of the Troops; and, above all, they ſhould know the Rules of thoſe ſevere Judgments which muſt be executed againſt Deſertion, and other Military Crimes.

The reſt of the Art of War, which is the moſt Eſſential part of it, cannot be Learn'd by Books, or Lectures; for it depends upon the Exerciſe of Body, upon Converſation with Perſons, Experienced in the *Trade*; *and upon the actual Service of him, who would be Inſtructed therein.* But if he be well Educated, if he be early accuſtomed to ſeek after what is real and ſolid in all things; to make Reflection upon every thing he ſees; and put uſeful Queſtions to all ſorts of People; he'll know more of it in Two Campaigns, than others in Ten. War is a more ſerious Myſtery than young Men, who ingage in it, do repreſent it to themſelves; who, very often ſeek nothing elſe thereby, but *Libertiniſm* and *Pleaſure*. To conclude, The better Born he is, who is Inſtructed therein, the more extenſive ought his Knowledge to be. He who is likely to be no more than a ſimple Officer, or to Command only particular Parties, ſhould be much better acquainted with little particularities, and much leſs with general things; than he, who probably, will one day, Govern Provinces, or Command Armies. And this Rule is common to all Profeſſions. The higher a Man is brought up, the more Objects his Sight takes in at a time, to ſee their Order in general; but he is leſs concern'd to know every Object exactly, than another Man who is near it, and ſees but one ſuch at a time.

XXVI. *The Studies of the Men of the Robe.*

THE Men of the Gown, have truly, more need of Learning, than the Sword-Men; but yet they ought not to burthen themſelves with it over

over much. They are deſign'd for Buſineſs, and are to Study, only to make themſelves capable thereof. They are therefore to avoid that Studious Spirit (oppoſite to the Spirit of Buſineſs) which only hunts after the Pleaſure of knowing, or the Glory of being reputed Learned. They are to inquire after the middle, betwixt the *Scholaſtical* Knowledge of the *Law-Doctors*, and the groſs ignorance of the meer Practitioners. For theſe are (as I may ſay) two Nations altogether different. The Doctors ordinarily are concern'd to know how to ſupply *Antinomies* and *Solutions* for the Reception of an Officer, or for any other Diſpute: To underſtand the Laws of the *Code* and the *Digeſt*, which are moſt remarkable for their difficulty, or elſe to give a new Explication of them: To reſtore ſome Paſſage: To Explain a difficult Word: To diſcover in ſome Author of Humanity, ſome piece of Antiquity, or Law: To reduce the Law into Order, by new Diviſions: To find out ſome ſingular Method. In the mean time, they do not apply themſelves enough to the Cuſtom of *France*: It has been obſerved that *Cujacius* himſelf was very ignorant in Buſineſs. On the other ſide, the Practitioners know nothing, but the *Retail* of that which they Practiſe; without Aſcending higher than Twenty or Thirty Years, they may have ſpent in Buſineſs; and without looking further than the Juriſdiction under which they Practiſe; without knowing the Original, or Reaſon of any thing. They only ſay, this is done, and this is not done; not knowing again that which has changed its Name. They underſtand, neither how to put things

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things together, to divide, nor place them in Order. In a word, they Work like *Artiſans*, who for their Art, have nothing to alledge, but the Example of their Maſter. To this ignorance of Practitioners, we owe the Style of the *Law-Proceedings* in Matters of *Bargain* and *Sale*, of *Royal Letters*, of the *Edicts* themſelves, and *Cuſtoms* which are for the moſt part Digeſted with ſo little Method and Perſpicuity. But the greateſt Evil which comes from thence, is the Wrangling and Confuſion in Buſineſs. The Study therefore of *Lawyers*, has for its end, the furniſhing them with the great Principles of the moſt ordinary Matters of Buſineſs; and inlightening their Minds, that they may treat of theſe Matters (naturally ſo entangled and obſcure) with Order and Diſtinctneſs.

So that the *Gentlemen* of the *Robe* have great need of *Logick*, that they may know how to divide, and define well; not according to *Mathematical* Exactneſs, but ſo far as may be uſeful to the better carrying on of Buſineſs. They have need of *Arithmetick*, *Oeconomicks*, and a great knowledge of all the particulars of Life, of the Management of Country Affairs, of Trade, of the Bank, and all the ways of ſubſiſting, and growing Rich. For moſt Buſineſs is decided, rather by way of Fact than Right. And upon this account, they ſhould be early accuſtomed to be Diligent, Patient, and Laborious But, above all, they ſhould have the Knowledge of *Civil Law*. And this Knowledge con-

contains both the general Principles of natural Equity, which are chiefly to be ſought for, in the Books of the *Roman Law*; and the poſitive Rules of our particular Law, which they will find in the *Edicts*, and in the *Cuſtoms*. Nevertheleſs, there are a great number of Maxims, which they cannot Learn but by Uſe. Let them, by all means, apply themſelves to the Reading of the Texts, whether of the *Roman* or our *French* Law; ſeeing the Texts only are the ſolid Proofs in Matters Conteſted. But let them not neglect the Reading of Commentaries, in Queſtions which they have Leiſure to Study to the bottom: There they will often find good Hints, provided they ſhall know how to uſe them with Judgment. Since the Knowledge of Law is the moſt proper to their Profeſſion, they ought not to neglect any part of it, no, not ſo much as to be ignorant of (if poſſible) any particularity of *Law-Proceedings*. 'Twould be well alſo for them to know Hiſtory, ſo far, as it relates to the Law: That is, they ſhould take notice of the different Laws and Maxims, which have obtained in our Country in different Times. They ought to go further, if they be Judges, and preferr'd to great Places. It would well become them to Aſcend to the very Fountains of the Law, and Examine the Reaſons thereof by the Principles of true *Morality*, and *Policy*. In a word, though they are only obliged to Execute the Laws; yet 'tis adviſeable that they ſhould be capable to be *Legiſlatours*. Laſtly, *Eloquence* is very uſeful, not only to Advocates, but to Judges,

Judges, and all thoſe who are to ſpeak of Buſineſs: I mean that ſolid *Eloquence*, of which I have ſo often ſpoken. — Theſe are the Studies which I Eſteem moſt neceſſary and uſeful, to all Men in general, and to thoſe of each Profeſſion in Particular.

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